

















JEWS' COLLEGE JUBILEE VOLUME









SOLOMON J. SOLOMON, R.A., ET FRANK EMANUEL, inv. et del.



# JEW S' COLLEGE JUBILEE VOLUME

COMPRISING

A HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE

BY THE

REV. ISIDORE HARRIS, M.A.

AND

ESSAYS

BY TEACHERS AND FORMER STUDENTS  
OF THE INSTITUTION

LONDON

L U Z A C & C O.

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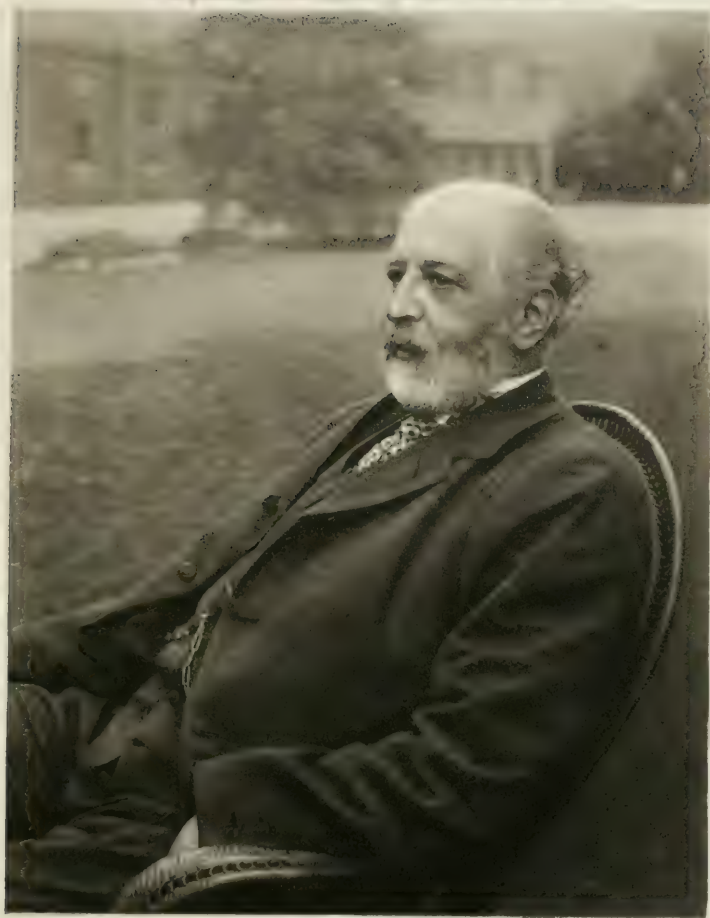
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*The Right Honourable Lord Rothschild, P.C., &c.*

*Rothschild*





# HISTORY OF JEWS' COLLEGE

NOVEMBER 11TH 1855 — NOVEMBER 10TH 1905.

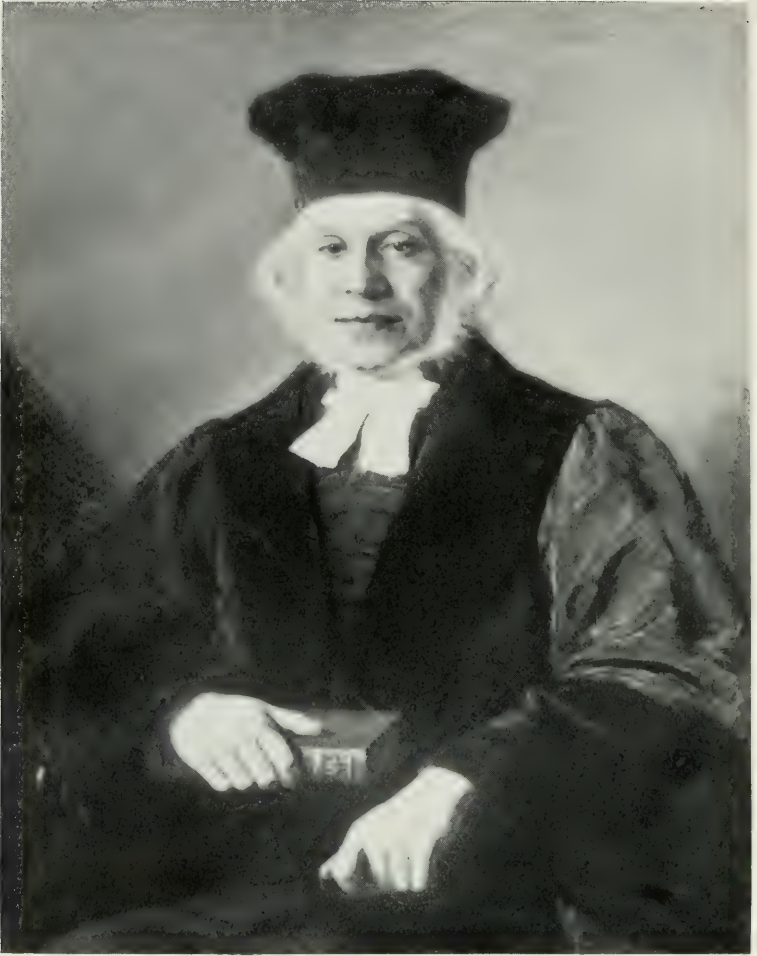
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BY THE REV. ISIDORE HARRIS, M. A.









*N. Auler*

*Founder and First President of Jews' College.*

## E R R A T A .

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- P. xxi., line 1.*—For “Londen” read “London.”
- P. xxxii., line 15.*—For “Exergesis” read “Exegesis.”
- P. lxx.*—After “1881-2” read “‘Mamionides,’ Mr. A. H. Gowler.”
- P. lxxi.*—For “‘The Resettlement of the Jews in England,’ Rev. S. Singer,” read “‘The Resettlement of the Jews in England,’ Mr. Lucien Wolf.” 1
- P. cviii.*—*In place of the first nine lines,* read “by a Sub-Committee of Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, consisting of Sir Edward Sassoon Bart., Sir Joseph Sebag Montefiore, Mr. Abraham Mocatta, and Mr. Joshua M. Levy.” i,  
e  
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- „ *Six lines from the bottom.*—For “income” read “surplus income.” -
- P. cix., nine lines from the bottom.*—For “were the same” read “included the.” -
- „ *Seven lines from the bottom.*—For “1887” read “1897.” o
- P. clxvii., line 1.*—For “four” read “three,” and delete the name of the Rev. Michael Adler, B.A. 1  
1  
  
b,  
b,

serve to train up youth for the various offices connected with the ministration of our religion.”

This recommendation embodies the first public movement for the establishment of a College for the training of Jewish Ministers. The idea of such an institution was set forth more fully in the following observations of the Provisional Committee appointed to carry out the scheme: —



*Victor D.*

PART I.  
THE COLLEGE IN FINSBURY SQUARE.

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I.

THE NEED OF A MINISTERIAL COLLEGE.

In the year 1841 the old Beth Hamedrash of the London Ashkenazi community was transferred from Booker's Gardens, Leadenhall Street, to No. 1 Smith's Buildings, in the same thoroughfare. It had been founded in the eighteenth century, in connection with the City synagogues, as a meeting-place for the study of the Hebrew Scriptures and Rabbinical Writings. But having failed in its former locality to realize this object, the Trustees now proposed to remodel the institution. They recommended "that whilst it should fulfil its original intention of promoting theological studies, it should also, in a manner suitable to the spirit of the age, serve to train up youth for the various offices connected with the ministration of our religion."

This recommendation embodies the first public movement for the establishment of a College for the training of Jewish Ministers. The idea of such an institution was set forth more fully in the following observations of the Provisional Committee appointed to carry out the scheme: —



It cannot be denied that the Jewish Community are become painfully alive to the want of competent religious instructors, that many of the rising generation are but slightly taught the principles of our faith, that they are athirst for true religious knowledge, and are anxiously desirous that the means of access to the sources of information and instruction shall be facilitated; it is the object of the Committee to do this, and to do it in a manner suited to the persons for whom the instruction is intended, and the age and place in which our lot has been cast.

With this view, they have decided that all religious instruction, whether Scriptural or Rabbinical, shall be conveyed to the pupils in the English language, and they earnestly hope that this desire on their part to supply a great want, by adding a new and required Institution to an improved reestablishment of an old and respected one, will be gladly hailed and energetically supported by all those who wish that the Jewish religion should be honoured, its principles truly understood, and the youth of our community be truly trained up to a correct knowledge of and adherence to the faith of their ancestors.

Although some £1500 was subscribed to carry out these objects, nothing was done to advance the scheme for the establishment of a Theological College during the life-time of the then Chief Rabbi, SOLOMON HERSCHEL. His successor, Dr. NATHAN MARCUS ADLER, had no sooner entered upon his office than he revived the idea in a modified form. Having himself enjoyed the twofold advantage of a profound theological training and a modern University career, it became one of the principal objects of his Rabbinate and the dearest wish of his heart to call into existence a seminary that would fulfil both aims. For this purpose he convened a meeting at the commencement of 1846, at which Mr. ISAAC COHEN (father of the late Baroness MAYER DE ROTHSCHILD) had consented to preside. But on the day of the meeting Mr. COHEN died, and the project had to be postponed.

Meanwhile, the need of such an institution grew increasingly urgent. Anything like a regular Anglo-Jewish pulpit could not be said to exist in the Metropolis at this period. The West London Synagogue of British Jews was the only congregation which enjoyed the ministrations of a weekly

preacher, and the Great Synagogue those of a monthly preacher. Occasional sermons were delivered in the Portuguese, the New, the Hambro, and the Western Synagogues. The Provinces were somewhat better off. Liverpool had a regularly appointed preacher in Professor D. M. ISAACS, and Birmingham in Dr. RAPHALL. The Rev. A. L. GREEN was preaching at intervals at Bristol, and the Rev. M. B. LEVY delivered an occasional sermon at Brighton. The few English preachers who were occupying pulpits in the forties were either men who had received their training abroad — like Dr. ADLER and Dr. RAPHALL — or self-taught geniuses like DAVID ISAACS, DAVID MARKS, AARON LEVY GREEN and H. A. HENRY. It should be mentioned that MARKS, HENRY. GREEN and LEVY had received their education at the Jews' Free School, from whose Talmud Torah classes many another well-known Preacher or Reader has graduated, and which must hence be regarded as the original training-ground of the Anglo-Jewish ministry.

On the Continent, however, and particularly in Germany and Austria, the vernacular pulpit was a regular institution. Such famous homilists as PLESSNER, SACHS, GEIGER, ZUNZ, KLEY, MANNHEIMER, HOLDHEIM, PHILIPPSON, SALOMON and AUB were, or had been, delivering weekly sermons as part of their ordinary ministrations. True, these men had not been trained at German theological colleges. Holland, France and Italy were the only countries on the Continent in which such institutions existed in the early part of the 19th century. The "Saadath Bechurim", which had been established in Amsterdam by Chief Rabbi ARYEH JEHUDAH KALISCH, as early as 1708, became, in 1834, the "Nederlandsch Israelietisch Seminarium" for the training of Rabbis and teachers. Ten years earlier the old Talmud Torah at Metz had been reorganized by royal decree as a Central Rabbinical School.

And in 1827 the "Istituto Rabbinico Lombardo—Veneto" had been established at Padua. The Breslau Seminary did not come into existence until 1854. But Germany, with its University and Yeshiba life, and its host of Jewish scholars, possessed educational advantages for Jews which were altogether wanting in England sixty years ago. The need of an English training college was therefore strongly felt.

Commenting on this need, as JACOB FRANKLIN in the *Voice of Jacob* had more than once done, the *Jewish Chronicle*, of January 12, 1849, wrote: —

It is obvious that the want of lecturers can only be provided for among ourselves; we indispensably require an institution to educate men for the pulpit. Numbers of youths may be selected from our charity schools, who possess genius and talent which adapt them to that vocation, if their natural gifts be only cultivated and matured. Numbers of poor teachers, good Hebrew scholars, but deficient in the vernacular, would be glad to avail themselves of such an offer; whilst it would open a field for, and be an inducement to, theological studies. We do not fear that anyone will accuse us of prejudice against foreigners; still we candidly confess that it is, to our view, rather degrading than elevating the sacred office, that the people are, under the present circumstances, compelled to seek abroad for those who can serve them. We are anxious to obtain full emancipation; and would it not be a disgrace if we were told by our Christian opponents that the Jews of England are so ignorant that they cannot find a lecturer in their community? The objection which our proposal will meet with is, no doubt, "Where are the funds to come from for erecting such an institution"? Our answer is simply, that every congregation will gladly contribute to the establishment of an office which will and must ultimately lead, not only to the moral improvement of the congregation, but likewise to the increase in the Synagogue funds, there being no doubt that the Synagogue would be better attended, and its frequenters be more liberal in their offerings, if a soul-stirring lecture appealed to their hearts and their purses, exhorting the audience to ameliorate their moral and religious condition, and representing to them the character of Jewish emancipation in its proper light — emancipation of the mind from the bondage to which ignorance and prejudice have chained them.

## II.

## FIRST STEPS.

At length, after much laborious effort, Dr. ADLER and those who cooperated with him saw their pious hopes beginning to be realized. On Sunday, January 4, 1852, Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE presided at a public meeting at Sussex Hall, convened for the purposes set forth in the following circular: —

Office of the Chief-Rabbi.

London, 8th December 5612.

Dear Sir,

The necessity of establishing a College for the training of Jewish Ministers and Teachers is so obvious and so generally recognized that it will suffice merely to call attention to the fact that among the numerous clerical offices of the united congregations in this Empire some are vacant, and only a few are held by Englishmen. That although our community on the whole is advancing in culture and intelligence, the dearest interests of ourselves and our children, our pulpits and our schools, the most precious things on earth, our character, intellect and souls, are still not seldom entrusted to men of ill-furnished minds, untutored, or at least unprepared for the performance of their sacred functions. It is no less generally acknowledged that a public Day School for the sons of our middle ranks is urgently required, especially in London, where there are good educational institutions for our poorer brethren, but none for those of the classes above them. Attendance in the public schools of the general community subjects our sons to this disadvantage, that they are not only deprived of one school-day in the week, but are necessarily left unprovided with sound religious instruction. Thus while their minds are necessarily engrossed by the acquisition of secular knowledge, they for the most part receive at home but slender and inadequate tuition in the elements of Hebrew and of our sacred doctrines — a knowledge essentially indispensable for their spiritual good. In the hope of meeting and combining these two great objects in the most efficient and economical manner, I have prepared a plan, outlines of which are given in the annexed page. It will be easily perceived that the College which it is proposed to establish is intended to provide for day scholars an efficient general education (such, for example, as that afforded by the City of London School), together with sound religious instruction; that its great end is to prepare such pupils of respectability as may desire to devote themselves to clerical pursuits for their ultimate attend-



## VIII

ance at the studies of University College, London, with a view to the acquisition of the higher branches of secular knowledge in that Institution, while they may receive within the walls of the Jews' College the requisite theological and scholastic education and the necessary preparation for their future sacred offices. And lastly that its purpose is to embrace at the same time the objects of the present Beth Hamedrash with its excellent LIBRARY revenues and the munificent endowment recently bestowed by A. L. MOSES, Esq. With the view of submitting this plan to your consideration and adoption, and of soliciting your aid and support thereto, I take the liberty of inviting you to a general meeting which is to be held at Sussex Hall, on the 4th January next, at 12 o'clock, at which Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART., will preside. In soliciting your kind attendance thereat, permit me to mention to those who have sons whom they would be willing to entrust to a day school of the above important description that I should feel deeply obliged by their giving me notice thereof within a fortnight from this time. Let me express, in conclusion, my earnest hope that all who have at heart the amelioration of the social, intellectual, moral and religious condition of our brethren — all who wish to render their benevolence more certain and glorious in its results — and all who feel anxiously zealous for the preservation of our holy faith, will come forward with heart and hand to promote the immediate efficiency and permanent stability of this projected national institution which, under the guidance of Divine Providence, may justly be expected to yield salutary and blessed fruits to ourselves and our children, and will shine with steady lustre on the Jewish community in this happy country.

I remain

Dear Sir

Yours faithfully

N. ADLER Dr.

---

### OUTLINES OF THE PLAN.

The College to be established in London for the purpose of affording a liberal and useful Hebrew and English education to the sons of respectable parents, and training of Ministers, Readers and Teachers.

Boys between the ages of nine and fifteen years, who can write and read English and read Hebrew to be admitted as day scholars.

The subjects of instruction to the day pupils to be, in the Hebrew Department: — Translation of the Prayer Book and Bible, Grammar, Biblical and post-Biblical History, Religion. An easy commentary on the Pentateuch and some parts of the Shulchan Aruch. In the Secular Department: — English Grammar, Composition and Literature. Ancient and Modern History, Geography, both physical and political, Arithmetic and Book-Keeping, the elements of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, the Latin, French and German Languages.

These subjects to be taught in different classes, five hours daily, Saturdays and Festivals excepted.

Six pupils elected by the Council especially out of the Jewish public educational establishments, besides those who obtain free scholarships, to be placed on the foundation as Clerical Students, who, in addition to the above-mentioned instruction in the day school, shall gratuitously receive instruction in the higher branches of theological and scholastic study at this College and in the branches of secular knowledge, as Classical literature, Logic, Elocution, etc., at University College. Such foundation pupils to produce satisfactory testimonials as to character and physical efficiency, and certifying that they are natives of the British realms, or that their parents have resided ten years in this country.

The same to have access to the College Library, due exercise in the public reading of prayers and expounding the word of God in the Synagogue of the Beth Hamedrash, and practice in tuition in the day school.

In the event of the resources of the College increasing, such pupils to enjoy free residence, board and clothing.

A general examination to take place every two years, and a special one of the Clerical Students before they leave the College, for the purpose of conferring their diplomas.

The present Beth Hamedrash in Smith's Buildings to be removed to another locality fitted to all the requirements of a College.

A Head Master, a Second Master, Assistant Masters, and a Librarian to be engaged.

The annual expenditure of the College, calculated at One thousand Pounds, to be provided for by the payments of day pupils, by the present revenues of the Beth Hamedrash, and by interest on donations, legacies, endowments, free scholarships and subscriptions.

The charge for each day pupil to be £10 per annum. An individual endowing the College with £250 to be entitled to have a pupil of his own nomination gratuitously instructed in the Day School.

A congregation, society, or individual, endowing the College with £1000, to be entitled to a free scholarship, to have a clerical student of their, his, or her nomination gratuitously instructed at this and at University College. In case of their securing to the Institution an annual amount of £30, to have the advantages as long as the same contribution be continued.

The College to be governed by a Council, consisting of a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, and five Members, in addition to the Chief Rabbi and the Trustees of the different endowments.

At this meeting there were present the leading members of the Jewish community, while letters expressing concurrence with its objects were read from Baron LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD, Sir DAVID SALOMONS, JOSEPH MAYER MON-

TEFIORE, NATHANIEL LINDO and JOSHUA BENOLIEL. The following unanimous resolution, which had been proposed by SAMPSON SAMUEL and seconded by SOLOMON COHEN, of Canonbury Place, affirmed the necessity of a Jewish College and the intention of its promoters to bring such an institution into existence: —

“That in the opinion of this meeting there exists among the congregations of those countries in which the English language is the vernacular tongue a desire for the establishment of a College. That with the view to meet such desire a Jews’ College be established in London. That this meeting approves of the principles embodied in the plan of the Chief Rabbi which combines three important purposes: the training of Ministers, Readers and Teachers, the formation of a well regulated day School, and the objects of the Beth Hamedrash”.

A Council was accordingly nominated “to obtain donations and subscriptions”, and “to adopt such measures as may seem necessary for the constitution and consolidation of the Institution”. The Council were to consist of the following gentlemen, in addition to the *ex officio* members, and with power to add to their number: —

Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART., F.R.S.

JOSHUA ALEXANDER.

SAMUEL L. DE SYMONS.

SAMPSON SAMUEL.

LAWRENCE LEVY.

LOUIS NATHAN.

SAMPSON LUCAS.

HENRY SOLOMON.

M. S. KEYSER.

GEORGE JESSEL, M. A.



*Photo by Elliott & Fry*

*Mrs. C. M. Huntington*

*First Vice-President.*





M. H. PICCIOTTO.

JACOB A. FRANKLIN.

That the progress of the new movement was, however, slow, and that a considerable time elapsed before the proposed College came into existence, may be inferred from the following paragraph, which appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* of March 4th, 1853: —

A NATIVE MINISTRY. We are rejoiced to be able to record a move in the right direction of instructing a native ministry. At a meeting of the managers of the Spanish and Portuguese Orphan School on the 22th ulto., they came to the resolution that ABRAHAM NIETO, a great-grandson of the late Rabbi ISAAC NIETO, maintained and educated in the house, now aged 14 years, shall, from his general good conduct and progress in his education, be instructed for the ministry. For this purpose it has been resolved that the lad be educated in the City of London School for a period of three years, during the day, and in the evenings at the Medrash (Hebrew College), Synagogue Buildings. During this period the directors undertake to provide their *protégé* with clothing befitting a young gentleman, general maintenance, and also with pocket-money. In behalf of the community, we thank the managers of the above institution for commencing the great work of rearing a native ministry.

Yet, in these intervening fourteen months the provisional Council, with the indefatigable Chief Rabbi at its head, had been far from idle. Circulars on behalf of the movement had been addressed to all the congregations of the British Empire, the Rev. A. L. GREEN was appointed Hon. Secretary, and a code of laws for the government of the College was elaborated during 1853. It will be remembered that the institution was to serve the three-fold purpose of a training college for Jewish ministers and teachers, a day-school, and a modernized Beth Hamedrash. But the impossibility of embracing all three objects in a single plan soon manifested itself. The Beth Hamedrash had to be dropped out of the scheme. At the same time, the trustees of this institution

agreed to contribute £100 a year from their funds towards the support of the College.

### III.

#### PREMISES AND TEACHING STAFF.

In the engagement of a teaching staff and the search for suitable premises considerable difficulties presented themselves. Ultimately a habitation was found at 10 Finsbury Square, a fairly commodious private residence, on which a considerable outlay had to be made in order to adapt it to its new purpose. Applications for the post of Principal were invited in both the Anglo-Jewish and Continental press, with the result that seven candidates came forward. The election issued in the appointment of the distinguished orientalist, Dr. LOUIS LOEWE, as the first "Head Master" of Jews' College.

Dr. LOEWE was born in Zülz, Prussian Silesia, in the year 1809, and educated at the Yeshibas of Lissa, Nikolsburg, and Pressburg, and also at the University of Berlin. At Hamburg he had, at one time, been entrusted with the classification of the oriental coins in the Sprewitz collection. Soon after his arrival in London, he was introduced to the Duke of Sussex, who appointed him his "orientalist", in 1839. Subsequently he engaged in Oriental travel, and when in Cairo he was presented to the Khedive, Mohammed Ali Pasha, for whom he translated hieroglyphic inscriptions. In Palestine, which he visited, he was robbed of valuable collections and note-books by marauding Bedouins. Returning home by way of Rome, he there met Sir MOSES and Lady MONTEFIORE, who invited him to travel with them to the Holy Land. In 1840 he accompanied Sir MOSES on his Damascus expedition, in which his knowledge of Oriental

languages proved of immense value; and he joined Sir MOSES in his other philanthropic missions. His most important writings included "The Origin of the Egyptian Language" (1837), "Briefe aus Palestina" (1838), a translation of J. B. LEVINSOHN'S "Efes Damim" (1841), a translation of DAVID NIETO'S "Matteh Dan" (1842), "Observations on a Unique Cufic Gold Coin" (1849), a Dictionary of the Circassian Language (1854), and a number of sermons preached in various synagogues. Dr. LOEWE had been conducting a school at Brighton, where he had the training of many youths who subsequently became men of note in the community. Jews' College was thus fortunate in starting its career with a Principal of such attainments and experience.

Five masters comprised the rest of the teaching staff. At the head of the English department was Mr. A. K. ISBISTER, M. A., who subsequently became a prominent educationist. He had studied at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, and was filling the post of second master of the East Islington Proprietary School when he was called to take charge of the English department of Jews' College. His scholastic attainments may be judged from the numerous school books which he compiled — English, Classical, and Mathematical. He had been connected with the College of Preceptors since 1857, and in 1872 he became Dean of that body. Mr. ISBISTER had as his assistant at Jews' College, first Mr. WRIGHT, and subsequently Dr. O'FEELY, an L. L. D. of the University of Dublin. Dr. STERN, formerly master of the Liverpool Endowed School, was appointed Hebrew Assistant and German master, but his place was soon after taken, and long retained, by Mr. J. HEINEMANN. The teaching of French was entrusted to M. DEMAREST, and that of drawing to Mr. CARPENTER.

## OPENING OF THE COLLEGE.

Thus equipped, the institution opened its doors with thirty-three pupils on Sunday, November 11, 1855. The provisional Council had now given place to a more regular body, of which the Chief Rabbi was *ex officio* President, Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE Vice-President, Messrs. JOSHUA ALEXANDER and HENRY SOLOMON Treasurers, and the Rev. A. L. GREEN Hon. Secretary, with Mr. LEWIS EMANUEL as Secretary.

The inaugural ceremony, which was public, and took place at 10 Finsbury Square, opened with afternoon prayers and psalms, recited by the Rev. A. L. Green. The Chief Rabbi then delivered an address — an earnest voice from the past which, as it powerfully sets forth the aims and objects of the College, may be here reproduced in its entirety: —

Gentlemen. — It is my pleasing duty, a duty which fills my heart, and I am sure your hearts, with gladness, to open, this day, the Jews' College; an institution which is so important that it forms a new period in the history of our community. Allow me to address a few words to you on this occasion. After a long, very long interval between the starting of the idea and its accomplishment, we have at last, by the assistance of the public, by the perseverance of the Council, and especially by the aid of Almighty God, succeeded in opening this College to the use of the Jewish public. This is not the place to speak of the numerous difficulties which surrounded the realization of the scheme; how some regarded it as unnecessary, nay, injurious to the progress of the community; how others were in favour of one leading principle, but against another; how those whose support was expected left the project to its fate; how often, not without sighs and tears, I myself despaired of its attainment. It suffices to say that the doubts are dispelled, the impediments removed, and the difficulties surmounted; we are able to open it. And if it be true that the beginning is half the accomplishment, we may justly rejoice in the fact. There may be some who have anticipated something more important, something grander and more striking, but we have, thank God, a house to work in, teaching power to work with, and minds to work upon. We have, in the school, the very number of pupils on which we originally founded our plan, and, in the College, we require only



a very small number of students; so that the supply may not be greater than the demand. Besides, it is a known fact that every good and sound idea begins in a small degree, and grows and prospers with years. It is like the kernel of a tree, which, once put in the ground requires time for its development, until it becomes stronger and stouter, and then, after having resisted and outstood many a blast, it may overtop the other trees of the forest and command respect and veneration. Of Abraham, says the Bible, "he planted a grove in Beer-Sheba"; he planted a small nursery where young men assembled, in whose hearts he instilled the belief in an everlasting God. But these young men spread forth the godly doctrines, carried them to distant regions, doctrines which have come down, through all succeeding generations, to this very moment. A school like ours might, at the beginning, be composed of very small stones. We see, as in a vision, the ladder, the foot of which stands on the earth and the top of which reaches to heaven, a ladder on which the angels are ever ascending and descending; the different sciences, some of which turn on the earth, and some on heaven; some are secular, some divine. But the dream becomes a reality, the stones grow into a sanctuary, and from that sanctuary many may go abroad to the West, and to the East, and to the North, and to the South, and many families of the earth be blessed through them. Without exaggeration or metaphor, we may truly hope that young men will obtain, in this College, a sound scientific and theological instruction, so that in the course of time our schools and our pulpits will be filled with well-trained, well-furnished teachers. We may sincerely hope that this school will afford to the youth of our middle classes a sound religious and secular education, which will go hand in hand without — as is now frequently the case — without injuring, curtailing and thwarting each other; we may reasonably hope and expect that the school will enlighten the intellect, warm the heart, and render them good men, faithful citizens, and pious Israelites.

However, I cannot forbear mentioning that the permanent success of this institution will depend on some conditions and suppositions. It will depend on the support of the public at large, both in the Kingdom and the Colonies. We cannot believe, however, that our community will plant a tree and then allow it to wither for lack of means. We cannot believe that they will at any time cast into shade that which is the germ of all future improvements. All others must fail without a college which provides them with efficient teachers. We cannot expect a rich harvest unless we sow liberally. Again the institution requires patience and perseverance. If the public expects a distinguished ministry in a very short time, or if parents hope to see immediately both blossoms and fruits sprouting, as from the rod of Aaron, or if parents will not assist the masters in their difficult task, they will be dreadfully disappointed; they will reap no fruit but that of delusion. Works of a spiritual nature require time, they are not always visible, the influence of the thoughts and feelings is subtle and silent.

Again, the success will depend in no small measure on you, my dear boys.

It must be your earnest desire to make the best of the precious opportunity afforded to you by this institution. Let us hope that you will not neglect one day, even one hour, in your endeavours to grow and to increase in ability and fitness for this world, and for that which is to come. Let us hope that you will accustom yourselves, very early, to order and cleanliness, to zeal and ardour, to industry and activity. Your parents have a right to expect that those who now enter into the school as boys will, one day, leave it as bright examples of the excellence of this nursery — well trained, well disciplined, and well stored — leave it, as good men and Israelites. The ultimate success will also materially depend on the masters, especially on you, the Head Master of the institution. Your great learning and experience, your earnestness and zeal in the sacred calling, entitle us to indulge in great hopes and expectations. The eyes of the public, nay, of the world, are on this institution; they hope much, they expect much. It will be at your hands to awaken in the students the mightiest and noblest powers with which man is gifted; to create a craving after knowledge, and to electrify them, as it were, to all which is good, right, pious, and noble. It will be at your hands to pasture this flock, to bind the broken, to heal the wounded, to bring back the lost, to satisfy their spiritual hunger and thirst, to fortify their morals, and to animate their piety, so that you may one day exclaim. "There is God, and I did not know it." Of a surety you will not disappoint us. We bid you welcome to your arduous but sacred calling. We implore for you health and strength to discharge it, increasing success and everlasting reward. Bear in mind that those who bring others to righteousness will be as stars who will one day shine brightly. However, all must depend on Him who is the source, the fountain, the origin of all our successes, blessings and excellencies. Therefore let us implore His assistance, and He will crown this Institution with His bounty.

## V.

### THE COLLEGE AT WORK.

Thus launched upon its career amidst the good wishes of all friends of Jewish education, Jews' College settled down to its work. At first the School was the only department in operation, none of the scholars being as yet fitted to enter the College. But this defect was soon remedied. By the end of the first year there were three students in the College, and 40 pupils in the School. The School was thus, from the outset, fulfilling its twofold object — providing a liberal education for the sons of the middle classes, and



furnishing a preparatory training for those who intended, at a later age, to fit themselves for a ministerial or tutorial career.

By the end of the first year the total receipts of the institution had amounted to £3400. 9s. 5d.; of which £1255. 9s. had been promised at the preliminary meeting in January 1852. It is interesting to note among the earliest annual subscribers the name of Messrs. N. M. ROTHSCHILD and Sons, who contributed £100 a year. And the first congregation to identify itself with the work of Jews' College was the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, which, in the opening year, nominated SAMUEL DE SOLA to be trained for its ministry at Finsbury Square. This gifted youth was a son of the scholarly D. A. DE SOLA, Hazan of Bevis Marks, whom he ultimately succeeded in that office. The congregation contributed £35 a year during Mr. DE SOLA's studentship. But the first permanent endowment which Jews' College received, shortly after its establishment, was the Lord Mayor's Commemoration Scholarship of £30 a year, established by the community in recognition of the election, in 1855, of the first Jewish Lord Mayor of London (Alderman SALOMONS), and open to students training for the ministry. About the same time the funds of the institution were further increased by a bequest of £1000 from the late ISRAEL BARNED, formerly a Liverpool banker, and at the time of his death a member of the Council.

The first public examination of the pupils was held on the 16th September, 1856, and the first public distribution of prizes on the 10th April, 1859. Among the names of prize-winners are to be found those of SAMUEL DE SOLA, in the College department, "for distinguished progress in every branch of Hebrew and English"; and in the School, ALBERT KISCH, HENRY KISCH, JOHN CHAPMAN, and BER-

MAN BERLINER. SAMUEL DE SOLA was also the first student on whom the Lord Mayor's Commemoration Scholarship was conferred, while a prize of £10, presented by Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE for "the candidate second in rank" was awarded to JOHN CHAPMAN. The examiners for this scholarship were Professor WALEY and Messrs. ARTHUR COHEN and MARCUS ADLER. JOHN CHAPMAN had been nominated on the foundation of the College School by the authorities of the Westminster Jews' Free School, where this youth had originally distinguished himself.

Dr. LOEWE had been engaged from Rosh Hashana, 5616, for a period of three years. At the end of that period he resigned his position (September, 1858). Dr. LOEWE was the recipient on the occasion of a farewell testimonial from his pupils, while the Council recorded in its minutes, "that during the whole time that gentleman was at the head of the College and College School he discharged with ability, zeal and conscientiousness the laborious and difficult duties of his office — duties difficult at all times, and especially so in an institution just starting into life". On retiring from Jews' College, Dr. LOEWE returned to Brighton, where he reopened his school. From Brighton he removed his school to Broadstairs in order to be near his friend, Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE. When, in 1869, Sir MOSES established the Judith Montefiore College at Ramsgate, Dr. LOEWE became its first Principal, and he retained this position until 1888, in which year he died. Some six months previously he had finished a compilation of the "Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore", which were published in 1890.

His successor at Jews' College was the Rev. BARNETT ABRAHAMS, B.A., who at the time filled the position of Dayan of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, besides performing honorarily the duties of Haham. BARNETT



JOSHUA ALEXANDER  
TREASURER, 1855-1866



DR. L. LOEWE  
HEAD MASTER, 1855-1858



ABRAHAMS was born at Warsaw in 1831. In 1837, his father, Rabbi ABRAHAM SUSMAN, fled to England from the persecutions of the Russian government, and in 1839 he settled in London to become Chief Shochet of the community and the leading authority on ritual slaughtering. It was from his father that BARNETT ABRAHAMS received his early Rabbinical instruction; which, at a later period, was supplemented by lessons in Talmud from the Chief Rabbi. His secular studies he pursued at the City of London School, where he had a brilliant record, distinguishing himself particularly in Mathematics. Hence he passed to the University of London, where he graduated.

Young as BARNETT ABRAHAMS was to fill two such responsible positions, he proved himself more than equal to them. He became one of the most remarkable men of his time, and such a force for good as made him an ideal head of an institution which had to train students for the sacred vocation of minister. His enthusiasm for the cause of religious education was unbounded. What scanty leisure he could spare from his multifarious duties was unstintingly given to the community at large. He was the founder of the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge, for which he laboured devotedly as a preacher, a religious expounder, and a writer of the Sabbath Readings. The very first that appeared, under the title of "The Lamp, the Light, and the Way of Life", was from his able pen. With the utmost simplicity and humility he gave himself and the little that he possessed to others. Such was the man who, at the age of 27, became Head Master of Jews' College, and whose saintly character impressed itself alike on his pupils and on all who were brought under his influence. The wisdom of the Council's choice soon manifested itself in the growing efficiency and reputation of the College.



About a year later than Dr. LOEWE, Mr. ISBISTER resigned his post to become Master of the Stationers' Company's School. Mr. ISBISTER had taught in both departments, instructing the College students in conjunction with the First Class of the School. The plan was found not to answer. Accordingly, on his retirement it was decided to appoint two masters in place of one English headmaster — a Classical tutor for the College, and an English and Classical headmaster for the school. To the former position Mr. A. H. Dick, M. A., was elected, that gentleman having produced testimonials of a high order from several distinguished educationists; while Mr. GEORGE J. EMANUEL, B. A., a former master of the Jews' Free School, was appointed to the other position. Besides producing valuable testimonials, Mr. EMANUEL had to submit to the test of giving probationary lessons at the British and Foreign School Society, in Borough Road, in the presence of the Head Master of that institution and members of the Council of Jews' College. This care in the selection of teachers may be taken as evidence of the anxiety which the College authorities manifested from the outset to engage only men of proved experience and distinguished ability. It was the more necessary that the teaching staff should conform to this high standard inasmuch as modifications had recently been introduced into the regulations of London University which threw open degrees to external students. It thus became possible for Jews' College to prepare its own students for graduation, and with a view to such preparation its secular teachers had to be men of high standing in the educational world. The pupils in the School department were, at the same time, being prepared for other academical honours. During 1859 Albert Kisch passed the Senior Oxford Local Examination, with the title of Associate of Arts, and in the following year he matricu-

lated at Londen University with honours in Mathematics. Thus, in both departments, the College was already at this early date — four years after it had come into operation — giving proof to the community of its earnestness of purpose; and in issuing its fourth Report (January 1860) its ambitions found expression in these words: “The great aim of your Institution is to train not only Jewish Ministers and Teachers, fit interpreters of the Divine Word, who shall bid it discourse in the current language of men, but also a community that shall lend a willing and an understanding ear to the holy lessons such Ministers shall teach”. In other words, Jews’ College, at this period of its career, was building up congregations as well as pulpits; and it is a fact which will readily be recognized that many laymen who to-day are most prominent in the congregational life of the community received their early training at Finsbury Square.

## VI.

### THE COLLEGE LIBRARY — OTHER CHANGES.

As a further means towards the attainment of these ends, the College now became possessed of a large library. Mr. L. M. ROTHSCHILD, in 1860, presented to the Council the collection of books which had formerly belonged to the Jews’ and General Literary and Scientific Institution, in Sussex Hall, that institution having recently ceased to exist. The books were valued at £500; that, at any rate, was the sum for which they were to be insured. On Mr. ROTHSCHILD’s suggestion, the use of the library was thrown open at certain times to the public — on Sunday afternoons and on Wednesday evenings. In the course of the next few years, the library received a valuable addition. Mr. WALTER

JOSEPHS deposited at the College the scholarly Hebrew and Theological collection of his father — the late MICHAEL JOSEPHS — comprising rather more than 250 volumes. Other additions, too, were made from time to time. The students likewise had the advantage of using the magnificent reading-room of the London Institution, close by.

Other changes in the *personnel* must be noted. Mr. A. LEBLAIN, B. A., was engaged as French teacher in 1859, on the retirement of M. DEMAREST from that post. In the same year Mr. LEWIS EMANUEL relinquished the office of Secretary to Mr. HENRY A. FRANKLIN. Mr. FRANKLIN accepted the post on the understanding that he might have to return to Germany, where he had been engaged in teaching English. This happened in the course of the next eighteen months, when Mr. NATHAN S. JOSEPH became Secretary in his stead. Shortly afterwards Mr. JOSEPH exchanged his position for that of Joint Hon. Secretary with the Rev. A. L. GREEN; and in due course the Rev. I. A. LEVY was appointed to perform the ordinary clerical duties. In March 1860, Mr. DICK relinquished the post of Classical Tutor to the College, having been appointed Lecturer on History to the Normal College of Glasgow. Dr. THOMAS WILSON, M. A., was appointed his successor. Dr. WILSON did not however, retain his position long. Mr. G. J. EMANUEL retired in 1861. These and other changes necessitated a rearrangement of the teaching duties. Accordingly the Council decided to raise the position of the Rev. BARNETT ABRAHAMS, "whose energy and zeal had already accomplished so much for the institution", to that of "Principal of the College", reserving to him the superintendence of the Hebrew and Religious education of the School. At the same time they appointed a separate Head Master for the School, to whom was also confided the duty of instructing the College

students in Classics and English. To this position, Mr. J. S. BENIFOLD, M. A., a Graduate of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Headmaster of the Carmarthen Grammar School, was elected. The Rev. BARNETT ABRAHAMS continued to teach the higher branches of Mathematics.

In spite of these many changes the institution was making rapid progress, and students and pupils alike were giving evidences of successful training. SAMUEL DE SOLA, the first holder of the Lord Mayor's Commemoration Scholarship, matriculated at the University of London, in 1860, and HENRY KISCH became an Associate of Arts of the University of Oxford. In the following year JOHN CHAPMAN gained the Lord Mayor's Commemoration Scholarship, there being five competitors. The second prize of £10, which was given to the candidate second on the list by Mr. BARNETT MEYERS, was awarded to SIMEON SINGER; and a special prize of £5, by an anonymous donor, fell to BERMAN BERLINER, "the competitor next on the list, for the excellent manner in which he acquitted himself at the examination". And special prizes of £5 each were awarded by Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE to J. G. ALBERT and HENRY KISCH, while a third competitor, "having been reported by the examiners to be very nearly equal in merit with the two prizemen", received a third prize of equal value from an anonymous donor. The name of this third competitor was Master MORRIS JOSEPH.

And now the first ministerial position was assumed by the oldest and earliest College student. Shortly after the death of his father, SAMUEL DE SOLA was appointed, in 1862, Hazan of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, for which he composed some beautiful melodies that still occupy an honoured place in its liturgy. He was a young man of brilliant promise, which, alas! he did not live long enough to fulfil. After holding his post about four years, he con-



tracted a chill, and was suddenly cut off from his useful career at the age of 27.

## VII.

## SCHOLARSHIPS AND ENDOWMENTS.

The College was gaining valuable friends, who gave substantial proofs of their attachment to the institution. As the number of College students increased, so did the need of bursaries to enable them to pursue their studies free from financial anxiety; and a single exhibition no longer sufficed. Mr. BARNETT MEYERS, who from the outset of his connection with the College was one of its most liberal benefactors, and who had been annually contributing a prize of £10 to the second successful candidate for the Lord Mayor's Commemoration Scholarship, now offered (1862) a freehold property, valued at about £35 a year, for the endowment of a perpetual scholarship. Mr. SIMEON SINGER, who had been the previous recipient of Mr. MEYERS' prize, was nominated to this exhibition, which became known as the "Barnett Meyers' Scholarship". About the same time, an anonymous friend founded, through the Rev. A. L. GREEN, a "Resident Scholarship", of the minimum annual value of £30 a year. The first award of this stipend was made to Mr. JOHN CHAPMAN, formerly holder of the Lord Mayor's Commemoration Scholarship. In the following year (1863), that well-tried friend of the institution, Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, presented it with an annual endowment of £100 a year, in memory of JUDITH Lady MONTEFIORE, whose lamented death took place on October 1, 1862. To this endowment, which was tenable for three years, Mr. MORRIS JOSEPH was the first student to be elected, on an examination conducted by the Rev. BARNETT ABRAHAMS and



Mr. JOSEPH ZEDNER, one of the Assistant Librarians of the British Museum. About the same time the Council founded two free pupilships in the School, as an encouragement to ministers of small means to send their sons to the College School for that preparatory training which would fit them to enter the College. In addition to his other benefactions, Mr. BARNETT MEYERS, in 1862, established a tutorship in vocal music, with a view to qualifying students to act as Synagogue Readers. After a time Chazanuth was substituted for vocal music as the subject of instruction, and Mr. J. L. MOMBACH, Leader of the Choir of the Great Synagogue, was appointed instructor.

## VIII.

### DEATH OF BARNETT ABRAHAMS.

Towards the end of 1863 Jews' College and the community at large suffered an irreparable loss. The Rev. BARNETT ABRAHAMS, the untiring worker who had toiled with holy zeal to raise the mental and moral condition of his humbler brethren, was suddenly struck down in the midst of his busy labours, at the untimely age of 32. He had been ill but a few days, and the news of his death was spread abroad even before the intelligence of his indisposition. He died on Sunday morning, the 13th November, leaving behind him, besides his aged parents, a widow and a young family. Only the week before his death there had appeared one of the many Tracts which he wrote for the Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge which he had called into existence; and the day before his death there had been recited in the Bevis Marks Synagogue the Hebrew prayer which he composed on the occasion of Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE's Mission to Morocco. Other writings

that he left behind him bear witness to the activity of his vigorous pen. What his loss signified to the College and the community may be partially gathered from these words in which the *Jewish Chronicle* lamented his death: —

Alas! alas that we should have to announce such evil tidings! Alas that we should have to record a loss sustained by the community, which we unhesitatingly designate as calamitous, and which, in some respects, is irreparable! The Rev. BARNETT ABRAHAMS, B. A., *Dayan* of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, and Principal of the Jews' College, expired on Sunday morning last, before he had completed the thirty-second year of his life!... Virtues which, when possessed by other persons, shine forth with such great lustre, were in him scarcely noticed, because paled by the side of others of still greater brilliancy. His conscientiousness in the discharge of his multifarious duties as *Dayan* and teacher, and his labours of love, were such that from the morning dawn to the midnight hour hardly a moment was allowed for relaxation. He performed all his duties with an extraordinary earnestness, springing from the conviction of the presence of God, which he always carried in his pure heart... There was in the deceased an unselfishness and a child-like simplicity, that could not but win him the respect of everyone that came into contact with him. He existed in and for others; and if he cared for himself it was simply as the workman does for his tool, because this self was necessary for the service of others. His love for his God and people, and his zeal for its service was unbounded. In his heart burnt a flame of enthusiasm, which, like the fire on the altar of the Lord, brightened and warmed everything around him with its genial rays. But the love for his people was not impulsive, not working by fits and starts; it was a passion, it is true, yet under the control of his strong intellect, and chastened by an observant mind and the hand of experience. He recognized early in life that all communal efforts and all outlay, in order to effect communal Jewish progress, must remain comparatively useless unless the seat of the evil be attacked in its root. Ignorance of Jewish principle and absence of Jewish feeling, especially in our youth, he perceived, was at the bottom of that sad decline in Jewish life which the thoughtful in the community deplore. And with the energy characterizing his buoyant and comprehensive mind, he set to work to repair the breach to the best of his abilities.

BARNETT ABRAHAMS was buried on the day following his death amidst such demonstrations of widespread respect as had not been witnessed since the interment of the late Dr. HERSCHELL. His pupils, though some of them were

the merest youngsters at the time, are not likely ever to forget that cold winter's afternoon on which they followed in his funeral procession — the grief-stricken crowd, the sobbing accents in which the Chief Rabbi pronounced his funeral oration in the courtyard of Bevis Marks, the bearers of lighted candles, the weird-sounding dirges sung over his bier the while it rested in that crowded mortuary hall at Mile End. All these things made an indelible impression, which even the lapse of forty-two years has scarcely been able to weaken.

The eighth annual report of the College contains the following reference to the sad event: —

The Council have to refer, with extreme regret, to the severe loss the Institution has sustained during the past year by the death of the Rev. BARNETT ABRAHAMS, B. A., Principal of the College. The College owed to this lamented gentleman no small share of its success as an educational establishment. His indefatigable industry and zeal, his deep learning, and the extensive range of his attainments, his unwearying and his earnest love for his vocation, rendered him a teacher of the highest order, and an ornament to the College, of which he was, in every sense, the Principal. Silently exemplifying the precepts which he taught by the practice of his own pure and irreproachable life, by his deep religious fervour, by his sincerity and active philanthropy, his life was a commentary upon his teaching; and it is impossible to over-estimate the beneficial effect produced upon his pupils by instruction such as his. It is some source of satisfaction to the Council, although of melancholy satisfaction, to reflect that the College afforded to their lamented Principal a field for so much usefulness. They venture to hope that the seed which he there sowed with so diligent and unsparing a hand may produce fruit in its season, and that many of those who enjoyed the great benefit of his instruction may have acquired with the knowledge they received from him some share of his ardour, sincerity, and goodness, so that they may follow in the footsteps of the teacher they have lost, and become as active, as zealous, and as worthy as he.

One of the first steps taken by the Council on the death of their Principal had reference to the provision to be made for his widow and orphans. The resources of the College being unequal to such provision, a "Barnett Abrahams Memorial Fund" was established by the community, and

by M. BENSUSAN on "The Life of Manasseh ben Israel", and a third by BEARON MARKS on "The Coincidence of the Prophecies of Isaiah with the Narratives of Secular Historians and the Inscriptions on Ancient Monuments".

The College received a further endowment in the course of 1865. Messrs. SASSOON presented the Institution with £1000 for the purpose of founding a Free Studentship, to be called, in memory of their father, "The David Sassoon Free Studentship".

The point which Jews' College had now reached in the history of its development renders it desirable to make mention of those who had hitherto served on its Council, and thus helped to lay the foundations of its subsequent progress. By the amended Constitution of 1862, the Council was enlarged, and made to consist of a President, Vice-President, two Treasurers, the Hon. Secretaries, and ten other members, in addition to the *ex-officio* members. Excluding the members of the Provisional Council, and others to whom reference has already been made, there had served on the Council up to the year 1864: BARNETT MEYERS, JOSEPH SEBAG, L. M. ROTHSCHILD, LEWIS EMANUEL, HENRY HARRIS, ASHER H. HART, Dr. HERMANN ADLER, ARTHUR COHEN, Prof. S. A. HART and EDWARD H. MOSES. In that year the Governing Body was constituted thus: —

President:

The Chief Rabbi, Dr. NATHAN MARCUS ADLER,

Vice-President:

Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART.

Treasurers:

HENRY SOLOMON.

| JOSHUA ALEXANDER.



## Ordinary Council :

ARTHUR COHEN, M. A.	EDWARD H. MOSES.
JACOB A. FRANKLIN.	LOUIS NATHAN.
HENRY HARRIS.	M. H. PICCIOTTO.
Prof. S. A. HART.	L. M. ROTHSCHILD.
SAMPSON LUCAS.	SAMPSON SAMUEL.
BARNETT MEYERS.	JOSEPH SEBAG.

## Honorary Secretaries :

Rev. A. L. GREEN.	NATHAN S. JOSEPH.
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## Trustees :

Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, BART.	LOUIS NATHAN.
HENRY SOLOMON.	M. H. PICCIOTTO.

In the following year the Council was still further increased, and there was an infusion of new blood which resulted in the addition of the following members: JOSEPH ZEDNER, Prof. WALEY, HENRY L. COHEN, EDWARD JACOB, M. S. OPPENHEIM, S. D. SASSOON, JOSEPH M. SOLOMON, M. A., and MICHAEL HENRY. It will be seen from a perusal of these names that some of the best minds in the community were labouring in the cause of Jews' College, and devoting their distinguished abilities to the furtherance of the highest educational and religious interests of the community.

## X.

## THE NEW PRINCIPAL.

The vacant post of Principal, having been extensively advertised, had attracted a considerable number of applicants. The Council's choice finally fell on Dr. MICHAEL FRIEDLÄNDER, of Berlin, who, both as a *savant* and a teacher, had already attained an eminent reputation on the Con-



tinent. He was born in Jutroschin, in Posen, on the 29th April 1833. Here he received his early education at the Cheder and the Catholic Elementary School, his Hebrew studies being also pursued under the direction of his father, a Talmudic scholar of high standing. At the age of ten he had already compiled an Epitome of Bible History in Hebrew. His desire for self-improvement led him to Berlin to continue his studies under the President of the Beth Din, J. G. OETTINGER, and Rabbi ELCHANAN ROSENSTEIN. At the same time he prepared himself to enter the Higher Grade Gymnasium "Zum Grauen Kloster", through the upper classes of which he passed with great distinction. At the University he devoted himself, *inter alia*, to the study of Oriental and Classical languages and Mathematics. His teachers were: in Philosophy, Professor TRENDELENBURG; in Biblical Exegesis, Professor VATKI, Professor BENARY, and Dr. HENGSTENBERG; in Oriental languages, Professor DIETRICI and Dr. GOSCHE; in Philology, Professor BOECKH, Professor HAUPT, Professor BOPP; in Egyptology, Professor LEPSIUS; in Mathematics, Professor OHM; in History, DROYSEN and RAUMER; in English Literature, Dr. SOLLY. Having passed his examination in Berlin as "Oberlehrer" in Classics and Mathematics, he graduated as Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Halle, with a Latin thesis on "The Ancient Kings of the Persians". At Berlin he became Director of the Talmud Association School, besides taking an active part in the general promotion of Jewish education. Various reading circles met at his house for the study of Hebrew literature, and young men coming from Russia were prepared by him to enter the Gymnasium. He had also acted as preacher, and been recommended by Dr. MICHAEL SACHS for an important Rabbinate, which he refused.

This was the brilliant scholar and teacher who, one bright

May morning more than forty years ago — to be exact, on the 1st May, 1865 — was introduced to the pupils of Jews' College by the Chief Rabbi in a speech which was almost prophetic in its allusions to the qualities of mind and heart which the evolution of time would be sure to reveal in the unknown and diffident stranger. The years that have elapsed since those words were spoken cover four-fifths of the entire period that the College has been in existence. Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER has thus been the teacher of two generations of the Anglo-Jewish ministry, who have spread his teachings to the furthest ends of the earth. Quite the majority of the living members of that body owe what they may have achieved to the inspiration of his scholarship and example. The position to which the venerable Principal of Jews' College has attained during his forty years and more of office is, therefore, something unique. It would be difficult to point to any teacher in the community who has wielded so far-reaching and beneficent an influence.

## XI.

## RES ANGUSTA DOMI.

The new Principal had been engaged at a moderate stipend, which it is to be hoped proved sufficient for a bachelor of his modest wants and simple tastes. Truth to tell, Jews' College suffered, and had suffered all along, from contracted means. The community no doubt appreciated the great and difficult work which the College was endeavouring to accomplish, but it had not as yet learnt to translate its appreciation into pounds, shillings and pence. The institution was in the enjoyment of certain scholarships which helped to support the majority of the students in their early struggles, and it had received a few handsome

legacies. But no philanthropists had come forward to enrich the College with endowments that would have rendered it more or less independent of public annual support. That support was of the meagrest, amounting in all to something less than £300 a year. The School should have been self-supporting. It might even have been expected that it would help towards the support of the College. But the parents were backward in their payments. On the 1st April, 1865, there was a deficiency in the general accounts of £230, to meet which the Treasurers had to sell out invested stock. All this explains why the teachers were poorly paid, and the general financial arrangements on anything but a generous scale. The Council could not help itself; it had to cut its coat according to its cloth. Those were not the days of big appeals. It never would have occurred to the College, forty years ago, boldly to ask the community for a £25,000 endowment; and had it asked, it might not have received. The synagogues had not yet risen to a sense of their responsibility to contribute to the education of their future ministers. So the College had to carry on a starved existence. And since the reduction of its teaching staff was not to be thought of, the under-payment of those who served it may well have seemed the lesser of two evils.

## XII.

1865—1868.

On the appointment of Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER to the Principalship of Jews' College, it was found desirable to retain, in part, the services which the Rev. Dr. HERMANN ADLER (who in the meanwhile had been appointed Minister of the Bayswater Synagogue) had been rendering temporarily. He became Theological Tutor to the College, and to these duties

he subsequently added the preparation of students for the English Literature and Language examinations of the University of London. The temporary services of the Rev. H. L. HARRIS being no longer required, were dispensed with.

Several other changes in the teaching staff occurred shortly after Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER's accession. Mr. J. HEINEMANN, who had taught Hebrew and German in the School for many years, died. His duties were henceforth shared between the Principal and Mr. JOHN CHAPMAN. Mr. FELLOWS, the Assistant-English Master in the School, was superseded by Mr. E. H. ROBERTS; and the place of Mr. CARPENTER, the drawing-master, was taken by Mr. FULFORD, who became writing and drawing-master. M. LEBLAIN, the French master, was succeeded by Mr. ALPHONSE HARTOG, who after a few years was followed by Mr. A. ANTOINE.

Other changes that were made about this time related to the arrangements for instruction in the School and College. The time devoted by the College students to teaching in the School was restricted, and it was resolved "that no student shall give instruction unless and until it shall be certified by the Principal that his progress in his studies shall warrant such employment of his time in teaching, and unless the amount of the time so to be employed be fixed by the Principal with the approval of the Council". The charge of a fee of a guinea for drawing was abolished, and teaching in that subject was made general throughout the School. A standard of acquirements for admission into the College was fixed. The teaching of Chazanuth by ear gave place to instruction in sight-singing, and students for the ministry were to be taught the elements of music. In connection with this subject, an important suggestion was made by the Principal, and subsequently carried into effect. Ser-



vice was to be held at the College on Saturday mornings, and the students were to officiate in turn. They were thus afforded an opportunity of practising as Synagogue Readers which proved of the utmost advantage to them in their subsequent ministerial careers.

In the course of the year 1867, Mr. BENIFOLD retired from the headmastership of the School, a post which he had filled since 1862 with a great deal of vigour and no small measure of ability. He was succeeded by Mr. GEORGE MACONACHIE, A. M.

Many students were now to give proof of the value of the instruction they had received within the College walls. Opportunities were afforded them of occasionally preaching for the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge, which organized largely-attended Saturday afternoon discourses. They also officiated at its Saturday afternoon services, and took part in its Friday evening Expositions. Others acted as clerical visitors to prisons. Such duties formed a natural stepping-stone to office. One of the earliest students to receive a clerical appointment, after the Rev. SAMUEL DE SOLA, was the Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN, who became Second Minister of the Western Synagogue. For two years he had been acting as Teacher in the Jews' College School, and his place was now taken by the senior students next in succession, Mr. SIMEON SINGER and Mr. MORRIS JOSEPH. Then Mr. RAPHAEL DE C. LEWIN, after having filled the position of Headmaster of the Kingston Hebrew School in Jamaica, was appointed Minister of the Shreveport (Louisiana) Congregation; and subsequently he became Editor of *The New Era* and *The Jewish Advocate*, in New York. A year or so later Mr. SINGER was elected Minister of the Borough New Synagogue, Mr. BERLINER being at the same time appointed Headmaster of the Hebrew





MICHAEL HENRY



BARNETT MEYERS

Anglo-Jewish educational establishment, and with this object to be combined with the Beth Hamedrash, to take over the Talmud Torah department of the Jews' Free School, and to absorb the Orphan School of the Sephardim Congregation. 8. That all congregations throughout the United Kingdom, the British Colonies, and the United States be requested to contribute to its support. 9. That persons studying for matriculation and other academic honours be invited to participate in various branches of the College instruction on the payment of suitable fees. 10. That periodical lectures, open to the public, be given by members of the Council, members of the teaching staff, and others.

Suggestion 6 was acted upon at once. An Education Committee was established, of which the first members were the Rev. Prof. ARTOM, and Messrs. MICHAEL HENRY, M. H. PICCIOTTO, JACOB FRANKLIN, N. S. JOSEPH and JOSEPH M. SOLOMON M. A., with the Chief Rabbi as Chairman, and MICHAEL HENRY as Hon. Secretary.

So, too, was the last proposition. Evening lectures were organized, and attracted large gatherings of the pupils and their friends. Delivered, as they for the most part were, by men of eminence and experience, they became an immense success — an inspiration to the pupils and a source of popularity to the College. Besides Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER (who for some time had been giving evening lectures on his own initiative) and the Rev. Dr. HERMANN ADLER, the list of lecturers included, so far as can be remembered, the late Chief Rabbi, the Rev. A. L. GREEN, Professor WALEY, ELLIS A. DAVIDSON, MICHAEL HENRY, BENJAMIN KISCH, Dr. A. BENISCH, the Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN, HENRY L. COHEN, and E. R. ROBERTS.

One of these lectures attained to almost historic importance. It was a lecture by MICHAEL HENRY himself on

"Ships and Boats", in the course of which he made the brilliant suggestion that Jewish scholars should endow a life-boat, and present it to the Sailors of Great Britain. The idea was taken up enthusiastically, and a Jewish Scholars' Life-Boat Committee formed to carry it into effect. The Committee had not been long in existence when MICHAEL HENRY met his sad and premature death. At once the movement assumed the form of a memorial to his good name. The pupils of Jews' College and other schools founded a life-boat, which they named after their lamented benefactor "The Michael Henry".

## XIV.

1869—1874.

At the commencement of 1869 Mr. N. S. JOSEPH tendered his resignation of the position of Honorary Secretary which he had filled for many years jointly with the Rev. A. L. GREEN, and with manifest advantage to the institution. He was succeeded by Mr. HYMAN MONTAGU, a gentleman who earned some distinction in his day as a numismatist. For some years, the post of paid Secretary had been held by the Rev. I. A. LEVY, and after being held for a short time by Mr. JOHN CHAPMAN, it was undertaken by the Rev. ISAAC COHEN, Secretary of the New Synagogue. Mr. COHEN held office till 1874, when he was succeeded by Mr. HENRY HYAMS, the present Secretary at the date of writing.

The fee of 10 guineas a year charged for admission to the School, while it kept that institution relatively select, was considered in some quarters to be too high for parents of moderate means. In the course of 1869 there was an extraneous movement for its reduction to 6 guineas. The need for some such change was becoming greater inasmuch

as the more prosperous members of the community were gradually leaving the neighbourhood of Finsbury Square. The Council decided to meet this wish, provided 50 applications were received for the admission of boys on the lower terms. This number of applications was forthcoming, and the change was made — apparently with gratifying results, for there was an immediate large accession of scholars.

Passing over changes in the administration of the School and College due to the retirement of Mr. MACONACHIE from the post of Head Master and of Mr. ROBERTS from that of Second Master, reference may be made to the Seventeenth Annual Report, which takes note of the following fact: "The United Synagogue, to which the appropriation of the Talmud Torah Fund was relegated, decided on awarding a portion of the sum, amounting to £ 28. 14s. 2d., to Jews' College, believing that the objects of this Institution carried into effect the intentions of the endowment of the Talmud Torah Fund".

The importance of this announcement is out of all proportion to the amount concerned. For years the College had been insisting on the duty that devolved on Jewish congregations to contribute to the support of an institution which had charged itself with the training of their ministers. This award of the United Synagogue marked the first recognition of the principle on the part of German congregations. The Report goes on to state: "It is earnestly hoped that if the United Synagogue eventually adopt the recommendations of the Committee appointed to investigate the Beth Hamedrash question, the claims of Jews' College will be considered. The Council will be prepared, under the advice of the President, the Chief Rabbi, to concert measures for carrying out, to the fullest possible extent, a suitable scheme for Biblical, Theological and Talmudical study, and



the instruction and training of an Anglo-Jewish Rabbinate and Ministry”.

In 1872, Mr. EDWARD HENRY BEDDINGTON, who had served as Treasurer and been an active member of the Council, died. Two years later his family endowed in his memory the EDWARD HENRY BEDDINGTON Memorial Scholarship, of the annual value of £50, tenable for three years.

## XV.

### SOME IMPORTANT SUGGESTIONS.

For many years the venerable President and Founder of Jews' College had given anxious thought to the problem presented by the pecuniary condition of its students. Many of them were the sons of parents who were unable to maintain them in comparative comfort throughout their academical career, and the scholarships were neither numerous nor valuable enough to provide adequately for their needs. Hence a general tendency on their part to supplement their means by giving tuition, and to curtail the period of preparation for the ministerial office. It was an unhappy condition of affairs, in which Dr. ADLER endeavoured, about this time, to effect an improvement by suggesting the formation of a Committee to devise means for the residence and maintenance of the College students during the years of their attendance at the institution. The Committee thus appointed gave their attention to the matter, but were unable to formulate a feasible scheme. It remained, as it still remains, “an object much to be desired”.

More success attended another suggestion of the Chief Rabbi. He noted with apprehension the want of organized Jewish instruction in the West End of London, to which an ever-increasing number of Jewish families were

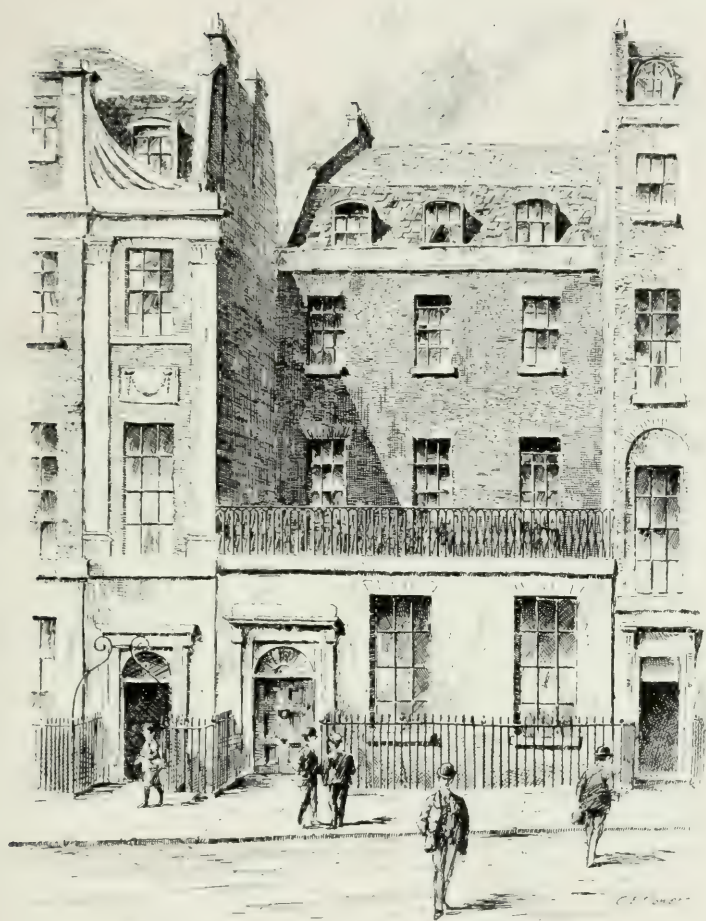


migrating. It was decided, on his advice, to establish Classes in the Western district of London, in connection with Jews' College. These Classes were for the teaching of Religion and Hebrew to the sons of the upper and middle classes. The hours of instruction were to be, on Sundays from 9 to 2, and on Wednesdays from 3 to 7, and the subjects taught to comprise Hebrew, in its various branches, Biblical and Post-Biblical History, Systematic Religion, and Biblical Commentaries. Central premises were engaged, and the services of the Principal and Jewish teaching staff of the College School were placed at the disposal of the new venture. The Jewish residents of the district did not, however, avail themselves of the scheme in sufficient numbers to render it a pronounced success. It was carried on for some time in the neighbourhood of Portman Square, and afterwards at Bayswater; but at a loss to the central body. The number of scholars that had been counted upon to pay the expenses was not realized. The classes were therefore transferred to Finsbury Square, and ultimately they were disbanded. Meanwhile the School itself was growing. By the end of the year 1874 the number of its scholars had risen to 90.

## XVI.

## PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS.

The facts set forth in the previous pages present but a bare outline, which may be fittingly supplemented by a few personal impressions of the institution in its early days, when it was located in Finsbury Square. The compiler of this history having spent about 12 years of his educational career there — from 1863 to 1874 — first as a pupil of the School, and subsequently as a College student — is able to supply some impressions of this period.



THE COLLEGE IN FINSBURY SQUARE



The building itself was but ill adapted for the accommodation of so many scholars. One particularly felt the need of a play-ground. A large front kitchen had to serve this purpose in my time; and it was there that we were drilled by the resident porter of the institution, Sergeant MILLER, after MICHAEL HENRY — the most fervent advocate in his day of muscular Judaism — introduced drilling into the School. Certainly a minute of the 12th January, 1869, records that Sir BENJAMIN PHILLIPS obtained from Col. WILSON the kind concession of a portion of the Artillery Ground, "for the use of the pupils of the College"; but I have no recollection of any such concession having been utilized. The back of the College looked on to the Artillery Ground, and my only memories of this fine open space are connected with the Militia practice for which it was used several weeks in the summer. Those of us who occupied the classroom facing it were, I fear, more interested in these military evolutions than in the lessons to which our distracted teachers tried to compel our attention. And there were the annual sports which took place on a certain Saturday afternoon in the summer, which we watched from the leads, or were admitted to the grounds to witness. But for the scholars themselves there were no opportunities of athletic exercise in our day.

A very strict discipline was maintained in the School, and corporal punishment was freely resorted to. While we small schoolboys stood in mortal dread of the caning proclivities of the headmaster, Mr. BENIFOLD, a more pleasing impression is retained of the pedagogy of the second master, Mr. ROBERTS, the author of "Arithmetic by Common Sense". He made the subject delightful to us, and must have been one of the best elementary teachers of his day. The arithmetical teaching of the Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN was

also made exceedingly interesting. His lessons in mental arithmetic will never fade from the memory of his pupils. He contrived to make us calculate with lightning rapidity. Mr. CHAPMAN's mental arithmetic lesson — taken standing in a circle — was looked forward to as a pleasure. In other subjects, too, his teaching impressed us by its lucidity, and as he had none of the infirmities of temper that characterized some of the other masters, he was our favourite teacher. Another genial master was Prof. HARTOG, who likewise possessed the secret of interesting his pupils, and who taught French capitally. I cannot remember who was responsible for book-keeping, but it was well taught, and proved of use to some of us when, on leaving the College, we had to combine secretarial duties with our ministerial vocation. Mr. BENIFOLD's successor was Mr. MACONACHIE, a dear old gentleman, whose strong point was Latin, but who was less sound than could be desired in his Greek.

One feature of our School days of which I have a vivid remembrance was the monthly evening lectures, which became so popular, and formed such a pleasant break in our school life. These lectures were followed by recitations which the pupils gave in English, French, German and Hebrew. Some of us were able to recite the whole of SCHILLER's "Glocke" from memory. The German recitations of a youth named Peartree earned loud applause, so well were they delivered. Gradually these recitations developed into dramatic representations. Scenes from Shakespeare and Molière were acted by the pupils, with the aid of some of the older College students; and even at this distance of time it is possible to recall the excellent impression made by Mr. SINGER's elocution in a scene from Julius Caesar. And the grave-digging scene from Hamlet was another recitation rendered memorable by the facetiousness of the



grave-digger, which was such as to cause Hamlet himself to burst into laughter. Less credit, however, attached to a performance from King John, in the scene where Arthur prays Hubert to spare his life. "Have you the heart?" he asks in his famous appeal. But the lad who was to recite this speech had the misfortune to drop both his h's. "Ave you the art?" he asked, to the consternation of Mr. BENIFOLD, who promptly rang down the curtain.

Of the College class, to which those of us who were studying for the ministry were in due course promoted, recollections are naturally more keen. Here our two principal teachers were Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER and Dr. HERMANN ADLER. Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER impressed us by his encyclopaedic knowledge, among many other things. One hour he would be teaching us Hebrew or German, and at another he would be construing HOMER or HORACE. On another occasion he would be conducting us through the mazes of the Higher Mathematics, from which he would pass quite easily to the performance of experiments in Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. Nothing in the curriculum seemed to come amiss to this "Admirable Crichton".

Dr. HERMANN ADLER's range of subjects was also exceedingly wide, including, as it did, Talmud, Shulchan Aruch, Homiletics, English Language and Literature, and English History. And he gave us the full benefit of his varied reading in all these departments. Himself one of the most distinguished *alumni* of University College, he had sat at the feet of such eminent Professors of English and Classical Literature as DAVID MASSON, HENRY MALDEN and THOMAS HEWITT KEY. The character of his teaching may be summed up in a word: it was inspiring. Dr. ADLER was full of a loving enthusiasm for knowledge, which, it is to be hoped, he succeeded in imparting to his scholars.

When first Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER came to the College he was unmarried, and shared his bachelor apartments with the Rev. S. SINGER. This arrangement did not last long. At the end of a couple of years Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER paid a visit to Berlin, whence he brought back a wife to Finsbury Square. To this lady, who was his cousin, he had dedicated on his wedding day a German Commentary on the *Song of Songs*, of which, in due course, we, his students, received copies, which some of us retain to this day.

The Jews' College Library, consisting primarily of the old Sussex Hall books and the MICHAEL JOSEPHS collection, soon grew out of date. It proved so inadequate to our wants that we can remember the time when the addition of such works as MUNK's translation of the "Moreh" and WEBSTER's large English Dictionary were regarded as events in the history of the College. But before some of us left it had greatly improved. Mr. L. M. ROTHSCHILD acquired for our use, besides some 50 other books, the useful library of the late EMANUEL DEUTSCH, which included a fine copy of the best edition of the Talmud. And there were presented also the collections of E. M. MERTON and LOUIS WERNER, to which, at a later period, Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL added the fine Hebrew Library that had belonged to Mr. A. H. KEYZER, of Amsterdam.

The Saturday morning services, in which the College students took regular part, formed, as has been said, a valuable feature of our ministerial training. They were attended by members of the Council living in the neighbourhood, such as HENRY SOLOMON, EDWARD JACOB, and JACOB FRANKLIN. JACOB FRANKLIN took the kindest possible interest in the College students, so that it was impossible to feel hurt when, on one of these Saturday mornings, he observed to a Collegiate aspirant for the ministry: "Young

man, you have a nice voice, and would do well, if only you would not try to sing!" It was JACOB FRANKLIN who provided us with tickets for the London Institution, which we attended sedulously. Here we had an opportunity of listening to the Chemistry lectures of Prof. BLOXHAM, of KING's College, the Botanical lectures of Prof. BENTLEY, and the Physiological lectures of Prof. HUXLEY and Prof. ROMANES. Another member of the Council whose interest in our welfare can never be forgotten, was MICHAEL HENRY. Among the many inspiring moments that we had at Jews' College — and there were many such — must be reckoned those that we were privileged to spend in conversation with this remarkable man. His private talks with us had a twofold effect, uplifting us by their seriousness, and encouraging us to perseverance by their cheerful sympathy with the students' struggles.

And there was another member of the Council who made the deepest and best impression upon us all — the Chief Rabbi and President of Jews' College, Dr. N. M. ADLER, whose dignified and venerable figure we saw constantly, and whose devotion to the interests of the College seemed the master passion of his life. Hardly a day passed that he did not visit the institution. The Council minutes show that he was rarely absent from a meeting. He lived opposite the College, or he could not have spared us so much of his precious time. As College students, he frequently examined us to see what progress we were making in his favourite subject, the Talmud. His interest in us personally manifested itself in many gracious attentions, as when a student who had matriculated would be invited to spend a week-end with him at the seaside — an honour the pleasure of which was only marred by the consideration that Dr. ADLER's student-guest was expected to conduct the whole of the Sabbath service which he held in his house.

## XVII.

## THE JEWS' COLLEGE JOURNAL.

The institution at Finsbury Square had been in existence twenty years before it attained to the dignity of a publication of its own. The pupils of Jews' College School, aided by some of the younger students of the College, had commenced by trying their literary powers on a "Manuscript Magazine", of which four numbers were issued. They were written and illustrated by DELISSA JOSEPH, who had already given promise of future professional distinction in the drawing class of the School. But in April 1875 there appeared the first number, in print, of *The Jews' College Journal*, "edited by I. ABRAHAMS, D. JOSEPH, A. GREEN, H. COHEN and E. ADLER". It was a quarto of four pages, and reflected no little credit on its compilers. It opened with an article on "The Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund", by JOSEPH POLACK, in which the Finsbury Square boys were exhorted to do their utmost for the new movement. A portion of this article is reproduced in the accompanying facsimile of the first page of the first number.

There followed "A Chapter in Jewish History", by "A", a Report of one of the Life-Boat Meetings that were being held at Jews' College, by DELISSA JOSEPH, and the first instalment of an article by the same writer on "The Bicycle". ISRAEL ABRAHAMS commences a series of articles on "Cricket", which he introduces with this observation: "As we have frequently advocated the formation of a Cricket Club in the Jews' College School, we therefore think it our duty to present to our readers a short outline of that outdoor pastime". Some "Puzzles" by the same writer conclude this number, while the Editors regret that pressure on their



THE

## JEW'S' COLLEGE JOURNAL.

"Folio of four pages, happy work!  
Which not even critics criticise."  
Cooper.

No. 1.

April, 1875.

Vol. I.

### The Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund. By Joseph Polack.

One of the most beneficial results of the advance of civilization, and one which interests Jews most, is the spread of religious toleration. Gradual in its growth, but prosperous where it was exercised it has at last after a long struggle with superstition and prejudice, come to be universal, wherever civilization sheds its radiant lustre. The condition of the Jews therefore at the present time contrasts favourably with their condition a century or two ago. But alas! there are countries and states, which are yet involved in ignorance and semi-barbarity, and where our brethren who are very numerous, are oppressed and ill-treated with the severity arising from popular prejudice. When a dishonest act is committed, when a murder is secretly perpetrated, the Jews are accused and often a popular rising takes place and the Jews are massacred in large numbers.

One of those high-minded men who strive with all their power to prevent these occurrences, whose highest aim is the rooting out of religious intolerance is Sir Moses Montefiore. He has spent his time his energy, his talents for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews in all countries where the trammels of oppression yet linger; he may well be styled the "Champion of Humanity". To attempt even the slightest sketch of a life spent in the relief of his brethren abroad, and yet marked with acts of the highest liberality and generosity at home would be far beyond the limits of this paper; such a task must be left to the biographer, and may well occupy more pages than this does words, suffice it to say that the name of Sir Moses Montefiore is as a household word

in the whole civilized world. Whenever he travelled to other countries for the purpose of bettering the condition of his brethren and of interceding on their behalf, he was met at all the towns through which he passed, with addresses and blessings: kings bowed at his word and governments felt respect for the man, whose object was the spread of religious toleration.

But the highest aim of Sir Moses was and is the elevation of the Jews in the Holy Land from their present destitute state. Eight journeys have been undertaken by the venerable Baronet, to the land whence his heart yearned, time after time has he sent large monetary gifts to the Jews of Jerusalem but notwithstanding the unbounded beneficence of Sir Moses, seconded by large sums of money from the Jews of all countries of Europe, the condition of the Jews of Jerusalem and other towns of Palestine is still most unsatisfactory. They are without the means of gaining their livelihood, and consequently, famine and drought often overtake them and reduce them to a state of beggary.

To remedy this dismal aspect of affairs a project has been set on foot which has the full approbation of the great philanthropist himself; and if carried into effect, will be the fulfilment of the wish for the gratification of which he has spent his long and useful life, it is proposed to collect a large sum of money from all parts of the world, which is to be utilised in the founding of a scheme for promoting agriculture or some other industrial occupation for the Jews of the Holy Land, which will provide them with the means of earning their own bread; and thus to establish a testimonial to Sir Moses which will at once be

*From a copy of the Journal lent by Mr. Delissa Joseph*





space prevents the insertion of certain articles which are promised in the next issue.

Of the six numbers of the "Journal" that appeared the second is wanting in the collection that has been placed at our disposal. The third (June, 1875) appears in a black border, in memory of MICHAEL HENRY, who had died in that month, and is mainly devoted to references to the dear friend whom the Jews' College School boys had so recently lost. "The countenance which was but lately beaming with love for you", writes "J", "is a thing of the past. All that is mortal of MICHAEL HENRY lies in the cold earth. In the death of one man we have been bereft of the philanthropist, the poet, the scholar, and the Jew! Treasure up, schoolboys! the remembrance of your 'father', and by becoming better yourselves you will perpetuate the memory and name of that great, good man".

Then follow notices of the sermons preached in memoriam, by the Rev. Dr. HERMANN ADLER, the Rev. A. L. GREEN, and the Rev. S. SINGER, of the largely-attended funeral, with its affecting scene on the ground, and of the first meeting of the Central Committee of the Life-Boat Fund held after the death of its Founder. "D. J." contributes a series of "Notelets" on Science, Literature, and Art, which have come to form a regular feature of the Journal. A paragraph on "College Successes" takes note of the fact that "Mr. JOSEPH ABRAHAM, student of Jews' College, has obtained two certificates at University College, in the examination at the close of the session. They were gained for proficiency in Physics and Philosophy of the Mind, and were presented by Sir George Jessel, Master of the Rolls".

No. 4 has an article by "A" on "Etymology of Certain Words", the first part of "An Incident in the Life of Rabbi HELLER", by "J. P.", more "Notelets", and an account of

"Our Anniversary". How a monthly publication in its fourth number could already have attained to its anniversary is thus explained: —

Twelve months have now passed since we undertook to place before our readers a monthly issue of the "Jews' College Manuscript Magazine", and during this time we have experienced great and almost insurmountable difficulties. We found after a time that it was impossible to continue the "Manuscript Magazine" with any hopes of a successful end, especially as prior to the appearance of the fourth number of the "Magazine" our contemporary "The Jews' College Miscellany" was commenced. Now if, when we were complete masters of the field we were scarcely able to proceed through the paucity of readers, it is not very likely that, when the number of subscribers, which was before very limited, was divided between the two papers, our affairs were in any way mended. It was then that the Editors of the "rival" magazines wisely agreed to coalesce, and it was found that if we could possibly manage to issue our paper in a printed form, we might be able to augment the number of subscribers considerably. No. 1 of the "Jews' College Journal", which elicited favourable notice from both the Jewish Papers, was the fruit of our united labours, which were now crowned with success... We have continued the "Journal" for four months, and we hope that we may celebrate our anniversaries as long as Jews' College exists, and we trust that the boys will give a helping hand to an institution which, we sincerely hope, is a source of amusement — and may we say instruction? — to them all.

The next number prints a letter from the late MICHAEL HENRY which he had addressed to the Editors of the "Journal" at the time that they sought his advice in regard to their new venture: —

68 Fleet Street, London, E. C.

May 28th, 1874.

Gentlemen.

I think the notion of establishing a Jews' College School Journal is excellent (provided the labour involved does not interfere with school duties). If the contents are to be mainly contributed by the boys of the school, the journal should be entitled "Jews' College School Journal", so as to avoid misconception. I fear that I cannot be of great assistance in carrying out your views as regards an economical mode of printing the journal, as the

price of good printing is fixed and determinate as were "the laws of the Medes and Persians". I congratulate you on your spirited notion of competing with other public schools for journalistic distinction.

I am,

Always your affectionate friend,

MICHAEL HENRY.

Other features of this number are "A Visit to Worms Synagogue", a concluding article on Rashi, and an intimation that the entire amount required to purchase a Life-Boat has practically been obtained.

No. 6 contains an account of "College Successes", a poem on "MICHAEL HENRY", articles on "The New Year" and on "The Brighton Aquarium", and a series of "Puzzles", the answers to which are promised "in our next". As, however, the sixth number proved to be the last, these ingenious conundrums still await the publication of their solution.

## XVIII.

### SOME NOTABLE EVENTS.

Passing over the ground more rapidly than we have thought desirable in detailing the earlier history of the College, the first notable event to be recorded relates to a communication received from the Secretary of the United Synagogue in the course of 1878, to this effect: —

I have the honour to inform you that at a meeting of the Council held on the 8th May, the enclosed report of a Committee appointed concerning the training of Jewish Ministers was submitted to the Council; and it was resolved:

"That the Council grant a subvention of £200 per annum from its funds to the Jews' College for the general purposes of that Institution."

"That the Council are willing annually to elect six gentlemen to serve on the Council of Jews' College, and that Messrs. ASSUR H. MOSES, EDWARD LUCAS, LOUIS DAVIDSON, ELLIS A. FRANKLIN, A. M. SILBER and HYMAN A. ABRAHAMS be so appointed."

I am directed to express the hope that with the material and moral aid so

liberally bestowed by the Council, the College may be enabled to show the results published in the memorandum of the College of December 1877, and that the Council may have no reason to regret the very large subvention granted on the faith of that promise.

This action of the United Synagogue in recognition of the claims of Jews' College to communal support was due to the energetic advocacy of Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL, the first Treasurer of the United Synagogue, who, joining the College Council in 1872, forthwith became one of its foremost workers. In 1877 Mr. SAMUEL became a Treasurer also of the College, in succession to the late EDWIN SAMUEL. In July of that year Mr. SAMUEL carried the following resolution in the Council of the United Synagogue: —

That a Committee be appointed to ascertain and report whether any and (if any) what number of persons are now pursuing their studies with a view to becoming Jewish Ministers, and what are the present means of support of such persons. That such Committee be further authorized to consider and report whether any and (if any) what steps should be taken, under the auspices of the Council, to form a body of Students, from whose ranks vacancies occurring in the Jewish Ministry in England may from time to time be filled up; and to raise or otherwise obtain a fund from which subventions may be paid to such students, to assist in their support, and to augment their salaries when appointed to the ministry of a Congregation which has not means sufficient to pay more than a small stipend. That the Committee be authorized, if they think necessary, to invite the aid and cooperation of the Committee of the Jews' College, or any other body, to assist in the investigation of the questions involved in the foregoing resolutions.

In accordance with the invitation conveyed in this resolution, a Sub-Committee of Jews' College had been appointed to confer with the Sub-Committee of the Council of the United Synagogue, and as the outcome of their joint deliberations the United Synagogue now decided to vote £200 a year to the College and to associate itself with the administration of the institution. At the same time the constitution of the College was amended to permit any Jewish congregation or body contributing £30 a year or



upwards to its funds to nominate a delegate to the Council for each £30 thus contributed.

No less important was a letter which the Council received from its venerable President at the commencement of 1879.

Office of the Chief Rabbi

16 Finsbury Square, London,

10 January 5639.

To the Council of Jews' College,

Gentlemen.

You are aware that about the year 1852, I convoked a public meeting in Sussex Hall for the purpose of collecting funds for the establishment of a College and School. Some time afterwards a constitution was framed by Sir GEORGE JESSEL and the late Mr. WALEY, and when the institution was opened, these laws were agreed to and are still in force. One of these laws is to the effect that the Chief Rabbi be *ex-officio* President of the Institution. Since the very first, I have, as President, taken the warmest interest in the welfare and development of Jews' College. But now, I regret to say, the state of my health will not permit me to take as active a share in its management as I have hitherto done. I am more particularly prevented from presiding at the meetings of the Council. I therefore ask you to appoint a gentleman from your midst to act as Chairman of Committee. You may rely upon my giving every possible help to the gentleman whom you may elect, and that I shall continue to do everything for Jews' College that my feeble powers permit.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Yours very faithfully

N. ADLER Dr.

The reception of this communication led to the passing of the following Resolution: "That the Council hear with regret that the Rev. President is prevented by reason of his health from attending the meetings of the Council. They hope that they may still have the inestimable advantage of his assistance, and will, on some future occasion, adopt his suggestion as to a Chairman."

In the meanwhile, Mr. HENRY SOLOMON, one of the original Treasurers, an office which he continued to hold

till the time of his death, in 1891, presided over the deliberations of the Council by right of seniority and distinguished service. But at the end of the year an "Acting Chairman" was appointed in Dr. ADLER's place, and this position was conferred on Sir BARROW ELLIS, K. C. S. I.

The illness of the Chief Rabbi led to another important change in the course of the following year, when the Rev. Dr. HERMANN ADLER was compelled to resign the post of Theological Tutor that he had held for 17 years, in consequence of the many official duties devolving on him in connection with the Rabbinate. At the same time, Dr. ADLER undertook to give a weekly and honorary lesson in Homiletics. Earlier in the year the Rev. S. SINGER, having been appointed Minister of the New West End Synagogue, retired from the post of Master in the College School which he had filled for 12 years. On Dr. ADLER's retirement, Dr. S. A. HIRSCH, a former teacher of the "Realschule der Israelitischen Religionsgesellschaft" at Frankfort-on-the-Main, was appointed Assistant Theological Tutor.

Dr. HIRSCH was born in Amsterdam, March 1st, 1843, and was descended from a family which migrated from Frankfort-on-the-Main to the Dutch capital at the commencement of the 18th century. Among his learned forbears, his father, SAMUEL HIRSCH, was specially distinguished. Educated, first in Holland, where he studied Classics, Modern Languages and Hebrew, he entered the University of Berlin, in 1863, to prosecute the study of Philology, Philosophy and History under Professors BOECKH, HAUPT, TRENDLENBURG, MOMMSEN, DROYSEN and STEINTHAL. With the last-named scholar he became particularly friendly. At the same time he attended the Talmudical lectures of Rabbis E. ROSENSTEIN and MICHAEL LANDSBERGER. It was in



DR. S. A. HIRSCH



MR. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.  
SENIOR TUTOR, 1909-1903



1867, and on the recommendation of Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER, with whom he had come into contact in Berlin, that he was appointed a teacher at the "Realschule" of the "Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft" at Frankfort, in which capacity he enjoyed the intimacy of his famous namesake, Rabbiner HIRSCH. Two years after his appointment he graduated as a Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Heidelberg.

The many learned writings which Dr. HIRSCH has produced in recent years have placed him in the very front rank of scholars. From 1889 to 1891 he edited *The Jewish Standard*, and from 1891 to 1899, *Palestina*, *The Chovevi Zion Quarterly*. His other publications include, besides various lectures, "The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar", edited with Introduction and Notes in conjunction with the Rev. EDMOND NOLAN (1902); "A Book of Essays", published for the Jewish Historical Society of England (1905); and "A Commentary on the Book of Job from a Hebrew Manuscript in the University Library, Cambridge", translated and edited in conjunction with Mr. WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT (1905).

## XIX.

### CLOSING OF JEWS' COLLEGE SCHOOL.

At Special General Meetings of the Governors held on the 18th and 25th June, 1879, it was resolved: "That Jews' College School be discontinued, as from September 30th next".

Several reasons had conspired to render such a step inevitable. The gradual removal of middle class families from the City had resulted in a falling off in the number of paying pupils in the School. Moreover, there was a growing indisposition on the part of the community to send their sons to a Jewish day school, however excellently taught. They



preferred to avail themselves of the greater educational advantages of such large public schools as the City of London and University College. And the Council experienced increasing difficulties in administering the School in conjunction with the College. Then the interests of the College students demanded paramount consideration. The Finsbury Square district was losing its central character for educational purposes. It was felt that it would be of advantage to remove the institution to the neighbourhood of Gower Street, where the senior students could pursue their chief secular studies at University College. Already there had been a movement in that direction in 1874, when the Baroness MAYER DE ROTHSCHILD undertook to defray the expense of such education for two of the most promising students, "as young men likely to fulfil, by the promise of their youth, the generally entertained desire for a liberally instructed and properly trained Jewish clergy". The proposed removal of the College to another locality raised the serious question whether the School should be taken with it or disbanded. The School was undoubtedly serving a useful purpose. It was the only institution of its kind for the sons of gentlemen. The positions of public usefulness to which many of its best pupils have since attained bear eloquent testimony to the excellence of the education they received within its walls. To mention but a few of them: there were educated in the School, for longer or shorter periods, Dr. ALBERT KISCH, Mr. HERMANN KISCH, C. S. I., Mr. DELISSA JOSEPH, F. R. I. B. A., Mr. ELKAN ADLER, M. A., Prof. ISRAEL GOLLANCZ, Mr. LIONEL ABRAHAMS, M. A., the late ALFRED NEWMAN, one of the pioneers of Anglo-Jewish historical research, Mr. LIONEL JACOB, B. A., and Mr. SAMUEL MOSES, M. A. The School, moreover, conferred an advantage on the College itself by giving its senior students an oppor-

tunity of gaining experience in teaching, which proved of practical utility to them in after life whether as schoolmasters or ministers. The late Chief Rabbi, Mr. M. H. PICCIOTTO, and Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER were strongly in favour of its retention, but the preponderance of opinion was against it; and this opinion was enforced by the views of Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL, who was subsidizing the education of the senior students at University College, and who promised an annual donation of £200 to Jews' College on condition of its being reorganized as an independent institution. The final outcome of the Council's deliberations on the subject was an amended Constitution, which was passed by the Governors on the 18th June, 1879, and of which the following are the chief provisions: —

1. The objects of Jews' College are the educating and training of Ministers, Preachers, Readers, and Teachers of Religion for Jewish Congregations whose vernacular is the English Language.

2. The College shall consist of two classes, one of which shall be called the Junior Class and the other the Senior Class.

3. Candidates for admission to the Junior Class shall be of the age of 16 years at least, and under the age of 20 years. They shall produce a satisfactory testimonial of respectability and moral character, and shall be subject to examination for the purpose of ascertaining that they possess a knowledge of the outlines of Jewish History and Religion, the Elements of Hebrew Grammar, the Daily Prayers and Pentateuch, and of easy passages in the Rabbinical writings.

4. Candidates for admission to the Junior Class shall have passed the Matriculation Examination of the University of London. The Council may however admit candidates who shall have complied with the requisitions of the previous clause, but shall not have passed the Matriculation Examination, to all or any part of the instruction given in the Junior Class, subject to any conditions which the Council may think fit to impose.

5. The subjects of instruction in the Junior Class shall be —

Systematic Religion (including expositions of such works as חובות הלבבות and כוורי). Exposition of the Bible with Commentaries. Hebrew and Chaldee Grammar with Exercises. Translation and History of our Liturgy.

שולחן ערוך and גמרא, משנה.

Jewish History and Literature.

Elocution, Vocal Music, and Reading of the Law.

## LVIII

6. The Curriculum of the Junior Class shall embrace a period of three years.

7. Not less than 14 hours in each week of the Session of the Junior Class shall be devoted to Hebrew and Religious Subjects.

8. The Students of the Junior Class shall attend classes at the University College, London, in such subjects as shall be deemed desirable for securing them a sound English education, and in particular for preparing them for the first and second B. A. Examinations of the University of London.

9. Candidates for admission to the Senior Class shall satisfy the Council as to their respectability and moral character, and as to their possession of a fair knowledge of the subjects of instruction in the Junior Class, and if they have not been Students in the Junior Class shall produce a satisfactory testimonial of respectability and moral character, and be subject to examination for the purpose of ascertaining that they possess a fair knowledge of such subjects of instruction.

10. Candidates for admission to the Senior Class shall have passed the second B. A. Examination of the University of London.

11. The subjects of instruction in the Senior Class shall be —

Philosophy and Theology, including Expositions of works of Philo, Saadiah, Maimonides, etc.

Jewish History and Literature down to the present day.

Semitic Languages.

Bible with Ancient and Modern Commentaries, Talmud and Posekim.

Homiletics.

Elocution and Vocal Music.

The Students of this Class shall devote themselves primarily to these subjects during not less than 14 hours in each week of the Session, but they may, if necessary, attend lectures at University College, London, on such subjects as shall be deemed desirable.

12. Students in the Senior Class shall occasionally have opportunities of practising the art of Preaching, Reading and Teaching, and of being instructed in the theory and practice of Shechitah and Milah.

13. The Council may grant certificates of competency to Students who have qualified themselves for the offices of Minister, Preacher, Reader, and Teacher of Religion.

14. An Elementary Class shall be established in connection with Jews' College for the Matriculation Examination of the University of London.

15. Candidates for admission to the Elementary Class shall be of the age of 13 years at least and under the age of 16 years. They shall produce a certificate of good conduct and shall be subject to examination for the purpose of ascertaining that they are able to translate from Hebrew into English easy portions of the Bible and Prayer Book, and possess a fair knowledge of Bible History and have a fair knowledge of general subjects.

16. The subjects of instruction in the Elementary Class shall be —  
Outlines of Jewish Religion.

Biblical and Post-Biblical History.

Elements of Hebrew Grammar with Exercises.

Translation of Prayers, Pentateuch, and the Historical Books of the Bible.

Rabbinical Writings: Rashi, Mishnah, Shulchan Aruch, and easy portions of Gemara.

English Language and History.

Elements of Latin and Greek, German and French, Mathematics, Book-keeping, Geography, Natural Science, Writing, Drawing, and Singing.

17. Not less than 28 hours in each week of the Session of the Elementary Class shall be devoted to the subjects enumerated in Clause 16.

18. The charge for the Students of Jews' College, except those on the Foundation, shall be £30 a year each.

19. The charge for Pupils of the Elementary Class shall be £10 a year each. The Council may in any case remit the whole or any part of this charge.

20. The Council may place on the Foundation any number not exceeding 12 Students.

21. Students on the Foundation shall receive instruction in Jews' College and shall attend Classes at the University College, London, as above-mentioned, gratuitously, or at such reduced charge as the Council may think fit to impose.

22. The Council may provide maintenance, board and clothing, or any of them wholly or partially, for Students on the Foundation, whose means of subsistence are insufficient.

23. Each Pupil of the Elementary Class shall before or within one year after he shall become such Pupil, and each Student of the College shall before he shall become such Student (and whether or not he shall have been a pupil of the Elementary Class) produce a statement under the hand of his parent or guardian, countersigned by himself, that it is intended that he shall follow the profession of Minister, Preacher, Reader, or Teacher of the Jewish Religion, and the Council shall require such parent or guardian, and if necessary one or more sureties, to enter into a bond or covenant with any person or persons that they may nominate on behalf of the College to secure the payment to the College of such sum, not exceeding the sum of £50, as the Council may think fit, in the event of such Pupil or Student withdrawing from the College without having duly qualified himself for such profession.

24. Jews' College shall be conducted in premises in the neighbourhood of University College, Gower Street.

25. The Chief Rabbi for the time being shall be the President of the Council, and shall have a veto in the appointment of the Principal and Teachers.

## XX.

1879—1880.

Meanwhile the new Jewish students at University College were beginning to give a good account of themselves there.



In the Jews' College Report for the year 1879-80 "the Council learn that at the recent University College Examinations the first Prize and Certificate in Logic and Philosophy of Mind were awarded to Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, B.A., and Mr. HERMAN COHEN jointly. The latter received prizes for French and Hebrew, the Fielden Scholarship of £25 for French, and an Andrews Scholarship of £50 for general proficiency. Certificates were awarded to Mr. J. POLACK, B.A., in the class of Logic and Philosophy of Mind; to Mr. M. ABRAHAMS and Mr. M. HYAMSON in the Junior English Class". The Council had recently passed a resolution raising the stipends of pupils, in cases of special merit, from £30 a year — the ordinary amount of a scholarship — to £50 a year; and the first students to whom these increased sums were voted were Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, B. A., Mr. HERMAN COHEN, Mr. M. HYAMSON, and Mr. B. SAUL.

The same Report throws an interesting light on other activities of the College students: —

Mr. JOSEPH POLACK has passed the Second B. A. Examination of the London University; Mr. B. SAUL, the First B. A.; Mr. F. L. COHEN and Mr. A. A. GREEN, the Matriculation Examination, each appearing in the first division of the successful examinees. The first named gentleman has also taken honours in German. Mr. HERMAN J. COHEN has obtained the Hollier Scholarship for Hebrew at University College.

Mr. JOSEPH POLACK, B. A., has continued to conduct the services on Sabbaths and Festivals for Jewish prisoners in the House of Correction, Coldbath Fields. He has also preached with success in several Metropolitan Synagogues. Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, B. A., Mr. POLACK, B. A., and Mr. HERMAN J. COHEN have taken an active part in the Scriptural Expositions, held at the Cutler Street Synagogue on Friday evenings, under the auspices of the Association for the Diffusion of Religious knowledge. At the Sabbath School of the Association, Messrs. A. A. GREEN and F. L. COHEN have acted as Teachers. The former gentleman, with Mr. HERMAN J. COHEN, conducted Divine Service on New Year and the Day of Atonement at the Convalescent Home, Lower Norwood.

About this time the Council lost some of its most distinguished members by death or retirement. Mr. M. H. PIC-



CIOTTO, one of the Founders, who had rendered scholarly service to the College for more than a quarter of a century, died in 1879. His son, Mr. JAMES PICCIOTTO, the first of modern Anglo-Jewish historians, had previously been elected a member of the Council and Education Committee. The Council's Report for 1879—80 bears grateful testimony to the labours of their departed colleague in these words: "Mr. PICCIOTTO was one of the staunchest friends of Anglo-Jewish Education; but among the various agencies for advancing that great object to which he devoted his time and abilities, none received a more cordial and consistent adhesion than Jews' College". In the following year Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE found it necessary, in consequence of advancing age, to retire from the office of Vice-President and from his position on the Council, and at the same time Mr. BARNETT MEYERS' resignation was received. If both gentlemen refused to reconsider their decision, it was from no loss of interest in the institution for which they had laboured so strenuously and generously, but from sheer physical inability to discharge the duties of office, and an unwillingness to remain members of an administration to which they could no longer give their personal attention. In the course of 1879, Mr. JOSHUA M. LEVY became Joint Honorary Secretary with the Rev. A. L. GREEN.

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## PART II.

### THE COLLEGE IN TAVISTOCK SQUARE.

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#### I.

##### THE NEW PREMISES.

The search for premises in the West Central district was attended with the difficulties that usually beset such undertakings. At first it was proposed to place the College in Euston Square. Then Upper Bedford Place was considered, and reported on favourably; and subsequently a house in Gower Street, at the corner of Chenies Street, seemed to meet the requirements of the College. The next house which the Council had in view was in Endsleigh Gardens, but this proposition also had to be withdrawn. It was not until the end of the year 1880 that the Council were able to make their final decision. It was at a Meeting of the Council held on the 14th December, that "Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL reported on behalf of the Building Committee that the purchase of Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, had been completed, and that he expected daily to receive the license to carry on the College."

Tavistock House was associated with the memory of CHARLES DICKENS, who had resided there in the fifties.



TAVISTOCK HOUSE.

*From a Photograph by Catherine Weed Ward*



"In Tavistock Square", writes HANS ANDERSEN, who visited the Novelist in 1851, "stands Tavistock House. This and the strip of garden in front of it are shut out from the thoroughfare by an iron railing. A large garden with a grass plot and high trees stretches behind the house, and gives it a countrified look in the midst of this coal and gas steaming London". It was in the large library on the first floor — the future lecture-hall of Jews' College — that DICKENS and his friends used to act plays. Tavistock House had previously been occupied by FRANK STONE, the Royal Academician. JAMES PERRY, the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* in its best days; and ELIZA COOK, the poetess, also resided there. And at a later period GOUNOD held singing classes in the drawing-room which DICKENS had converted into his library. Tavistock House was thus fitted in every way — by its commodious size, its central yet retired situation, and the wealth of its literary and public memories — to become the new home of Jews' College.

The acquisition of the new premises necessitated the raising of a Building Fund of £3000, for which a special appeal had to be made to the community. The Committee formed to make this appeal consisted of Sir BARROW ELLIS, the Revs. Dr. HERMANN ADLER, A. L. GREEN, JOHN CHAPMAN, and S. SINGER, and Messrs. L. L. ALEXANDER, A. H. BEDDINGTON, JOSHUA M. LEVY, CHARLES SAMUEL and A. M. SILBER. At the same time, a Sub-Committee to superintend the arrangements for the removal was appointed, consisting of Messrs. HYMAN, A. ABRAHAMS, MARCUS N. ADLER, CHARLES SAMUEL, the Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN, and the Honorary Secretaries.



## II.

## THE INAUGURAL CEREMONY.

It was arranged that the inauguration of the new premises should take place on the 27th June, 1881, and that special letters of invitation should be issued to Sir NATHANIEL DE ROTHSCHILD, BART., M. P., Sir JULIAN GOLDSMID, BART., Alderman Sir B. S. PHILLIPS, Baron HENRY DE WORMS, the Hon. SAUL SAMUEL, C. M. G., Mr. ARTHUR COHEN, Q.C., M.P., Mr. Serjeant SIMON, M.P., and Messrs. LIONEL L. COHEN and F. D. MOCATTA.

The ceremony was of an elaborate character. Opening with a religious service, the Rev. Dr. HERMANN ADLER offered the consecration prayer, and the Rev. M. HAST, with the choir of the Great Synagogue, performed the musical portion. At the subsequent proceedings Sir BARROW ELLIS, K. C. S. I., presided, and in the absence of the Chief Rabbi, the state of whose health now obliged him to live in semi-retirement at Brighton, delivered the principal address. He observed that when an institution had been at work for a quarter of a century, a favourable opportunity presented itself to consider whether that institution had been successful or not. He believed all present would concur with him in the opinion that Jews' College had done good work in the past, and that there was every prospect of its doing still more in the future. The modified constitution which had been adopted in the previous year had had as its sequel the removal of the institution to its new quarters. He need hardly tell those who knew the old premises in Finsbury Square that the two houses would not bear comparison. The managers owed to his friend, Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL, the acquisition of the commodious building in which the College

would henceforth be located. A heavy expense, reaching nearly £3000, had been incurred in the acquisition and alteration of the house, and to meet that outlay the managers required the practical support of the community. Amongst other special contributions that had been received he might mention that the Council of the United Synagogue had given a grant of £100 to the Building Fund, in addition to their annual subvention of £200, and Sir NATHANIEL DE ROTHSCHILD had likewise given £200 to the same object. An interesting feature in connection with the proceedings that evening would be the presentation of a testimonial to Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER on the part of his present and old pupils, amongst the latter being ministers who were not only a credit to their own congregations, but would be an ornament to any religion.

The Rev. A. L. GREEN, who was the next speaker, said that resplendent as was the Star of India which shone on the breast of the Chairman, it was not by any means so resplendent as his active and useful career. Sir BARROW ELLIS, being the life and soul of Jews' College, would be glad to know that many years ago his own father was amongst a few earnest men who had advocated the establishment of an institution for the training of Jewish ministers. The first labour of the venerable Chief Rabbi on entering into office was to take up the matter, with the result that the Jewish community had now an institution of which, so far as it had yet gone, they might well be proud, and which from year to year continued to improve. To him it was a wonder that any intelligent Jew should hesitate to support such an establishment as the College, where secular and theological knowledge went hand in hand. As Honorary Secretary of the College from its commencement, it was a source of pleasure to him to see it produce men worthy of

the institution, and those present that evening could show their appreciation of what the College had done not merely by clapping their hands, but by putting their hands into their pockets and liberally contributing towards its maintenance.

Mr. ARTHUR COHEN, appealing for public support, said that there were three grounds on which the College might rest its claims. Firstly, it was a fact that of late years the Jewish religion had attracted increasing notice on the part of Christians. It was necessary that the Jewish clergy should be educated to present Judaism worthily to Christian readers. And the Jews themselves, having become better educated, would more and more require a cultured clergy. They required good sermons, and he was glad to say they got them. And in the third place, the last two or three years had given a warning to Jews that their increasing power and wealth aroused animosity in many quarters. It thus became a duty to educate both ourselves and the Jewish clergy, in order that those who reviled the Jewish people might see that they were in the wrong.

Then came the presentation to Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER, which was made on behalf of his present and past pupils by the Rev. S. SINGER, who, in a graceful speech, alluded to the influence which the Principal of Jews' College had exerted upon his pupils and the veneration in which they held him. As a slight proof of their affection a Committee had been formed, of which the speaker was appointed Chairman, the Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN Treasurer, and the Rev. J. POLACK, and subsequently Mr. HERMAN J. COHEN, Honorary Secretary. As the result of the action of that Committee, he would ask Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER to accept a case of silver and an escritoire, as an expression of the gratitude and affection entertained for him by his pupils.





SIR BARROW ELLIS, K.C. S.I.

*Chairman of Council, 1872—1887.*



To this presentation Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER made a suitable reply; the other speakers being Mr. F. D. MOCATTA and the Hon. SAUL SAMUEL.

## III.

## HONORARY OFFICERS AND OFFICIALS IN 1881.

The removal of the College from Finsbury Square to Tavistock Square formed the great dividing line in the history of the institution. The School had now ceased to exist, and henceforth the College Students — all except the members of the Elementary Class — were to receive their secular instruction at University College. The institution had thus reached a point in its career at which it may be convenient to set out a list of its governing body and officials. During the year in which the College was installed in its new premises, its honorary officers were: —

## President:

The Rev. Dr. N. M. ADLER, Chief Rabbi.

## Chairman of the Council:

Sir BARROW H. ELLIS, K. C. S. I.

## Treasurers:

HENRY SOLOMON.

| CHARLES SAMUEL.

## Council:

Rev. Dr. H. ADLER.

DANIEL CASTELLO.

M. N. ADLER, M. A.

Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN.

L. L. ALEXANDER.

JOSEPH DE CASTRO.

A. H. BEDDINGTON.

Rev. A. L. GREEN.

HERBERT BENTWICH, L.L.B.

ISAAC A. JOSEPH.

JONAS BERGTHEIL.

A. L. LAZARUS.

JOSHUA M. LEVY.	CHARLES SAMUEL.
L. C. LUMLEY.	The Hon. SAUL SAMUEL.
A. M. MARSDEN.	Rev. S. SINGER.
MORRIS S. OPPENHEIM.	HENRY SOLOMON.
JAMES PICCIOTTO.	LEWIS SOLOMON.
L. M. ROTHSCHILD.	SAUL SOLOMON.

Representatives of the United Synagogue:

HYMAN A. ABRAHAMS.	SAMUEL HARRIS.
BENN DAVIS.	EDWARD LUCAS.
ELLIS A. FRANKLIN.	A. M. SILBER.

Hon. Secretaries:

Rev. A. L. GREEN.	JOSHUA M. LEVY.
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Education Committee.

The Rev. the Chief Rabbi:

Rev. Dr. H. ADLER.	Rev. A. L. GREEN.
M. N. ADLER, M. A.	JOSHUA M. LEVY.
L. L. ALEXANDER.	JAMES PICCIOTTO.
HERBERT BENTWICH, L.L.B.	CHARLES SAMUEL.
Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN.	HENRY SOLOMON.
Sir BARROW ELLIS, K.C.S.I.	LEWIS SOLOMON.

Rev. S. SINGER, *Hon. Sec.*

The teachers were: —

Principal:

M. FRIEDLÄNDER, Ph. D.

Assistant Theological Tutor:

S. A. HIRSCH, Ph. D.

Music — Rev. M. HAST. French — Mons. A. ANTOINE.  
 Classics — G. WASHINGTON KILNER, M. A. English and  
 Mathematics — ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M. A.

Mr. KILNER was appointed in the autumn of 1881. Born in Ceylon in 1860, he was educated at Lincoln Grammar School, the City of London School, and University College, where he became Prizeman in Senior Latin and Greek and Hollier Scholar in Greek. He graduated in 1880, after taking first class honours in Latin at the Intermediate Examination. In 1881 he took the degree of M. A., with the second place in Classics. Before being appointed to Jews' College, he had entered at the Inner Temple, and in due course he was called to the Bar. In 1889 he was appointed Lecturer in Classics and English at New College, London. When the University of London was reconstituted, Mr. KILNER was "recognized" as a Teacher of English, and subsequently of Classics. Mr. KILNER has also distinguished himself in science, and is a Fellow of the Chemical Society.

Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS was appointed English and Mathematical Master about the same time. Mr. ABRAHAMS was the first student of the College to take the degree of Master of Arts at the University of London, and he had also distinguished himself by taking several Certificates of Honour at University College. The Report for the year 1883 takes note of his "numerous scholarly contributions on Jewish subjects to serial and current literature".

#### IV.

JEWS' COLLEGE LITERARY SOCIETY. — THE UNION SOCIETY.

The closing of Jews' College School had been preceded by a discontinuance of those popular lectures by members of the Council and teaching staff to which reference has been made in Part I. The lecture movement was now revived in another and more permanent form. The students of Jews' College, shortly after their removal to Tavistock

House, established the "Jews' College Literary and Debating Society" for the reading of Papers on subjects of Jewish interest. They were open to the public, and at once attracted large and interested audiences by reason of the high level of scholarship to which they attained and the learned discussions by which they were followed; while their social success was largely helped by the graceful hospitalities of Mrs. FRIEDLÄNDER, the popular wife of the Principal, for whose never-failing kindness present and past students have so much cause to be grateful. If for no other reason than that the Society may justly be regarded as the parent of the Jewish Literary Society movement, which has grown to such dimensions in our own day, its proceedings would deserve more than a passing notice. But most of the Papers read at Jews' College are of interest on their own account. They mark a considerable advance on the majority of the "popular" lectures delivered at the old Jews' College School. Scholarly in the highest sense, and based largely on original research, they have furnished a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Jewish Literature. Some of the most thoughtful essays in many a recent volume of *Judaica* first appeared as Jews' College "Papers". It may serve a useful purpose to append a nearly-complete list of the subjects that have been treated during the quarter of a century that the Society has been in existence: —

## 1881—2.

"The Life and Writings of Kalir", Mr. A. A. GREEN.

"Witchcraft in the Bible", Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M. A.

"The Music of the Bible", Mr. F. L. COHEN.

"The Midrash", Mr. M. HYAMSON.

"The Synagogue in the Time of the Talmud", Mr. A. ORNSTEIN.

## 1882—3.

"Two Papers on the Book of Job", Mr. M. HYAMSON, B. A.

"The History and Character of Synagogue Music", Mr. F. L. COHEN.

"The Day of Atonement in the First Temple", Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M. A.

"The Book Cuzari, with special reference to the Author's remarks on the Hebrew Language", Mr. B. SAUL.

1885—6.

"Two Lectures on Ecclesiastes", Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER.

"The Use of Wine in Jewish Ceremony", Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M. A.

"Hebrew Poetry in the Middle Ages", Rev. Dr. CHOTZNER.

"The Introduction of Square characters in Hebrew Writing", Mr. A. NEUBAUER, M. A.

"The Targum of Onkelos", Rev. ISIDORE HARRIS, M. A.

"On Charizi", Mr. J. FRIEDLÄNDER.

"The Life and Works of Don Isaac Abarbanel", Rev. I. S. MEISELS.

"The Jewish Elements in the Sibylline Books", Dr. S. HIRSCH.

"The Origin of the Kabala", Dr. M. GASTER.

"The Life and Work of Moses Mendelssohn, on the occasion of the Mendelssohn Centenary", Rev. Dr. H. ADLER.

1886—7.

"The Sects among the Jews", Dr. A. NEUBAUER.

"The Influence of Judaism upon Philosophy", Dr. H. BEHREND.

"The Rod of Moses and its Legendary Story", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.

"Jewish Folk Lore in the Middle Ages", Rev. Dr. M. GASTER.

"The Temple at Jerusalem", Mr. M. N. ADLER, M. A.

"Nachman Krochmal and the 'Perplexities of the Time'", Mr. S. SCHECHTER.

"Some Rabbinically learned Women", Rev. I. S. MEISELS.

"Art among the Ancient Hebrews", Rev. Dr. CHOTZNER.

"Jehuda Halevi, Poet and Pilgrim", Mr. J. JACOBS, B. A.

"The Eighteen Benedictions", Mr. J. F. STERN.

"The Wisdom of Solomon", Mr. CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE, M. A.

"The Messianic Idea in Judaism", Rev. S. SINGER.

1887—8.

"Spinoza" (1), Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

"The Chassidim", Mr. S. SCHECHTER.

"The Resettlement of the Jews in England", Rev. S. SINGER.

"David Alroy", Mr. MICHAEL ADLER.

"The Canaanites", Captain C. R. CONDER, R. E.

"Maimonides and Islam", Rev. L. M. SIMMONS, B. A.

"Elizabethan England and the Jews", Mr. S. L. LEE, B. A.

"The Massorah", Rev. ISIDORE HARRIS, M. A.

"The Letter of Rabbi Sherira", Mr. L. MENDELSSOHN, B. A.

"The Chachamim or Chief Rabbis of England", Rev. Dr. M. GASTER.

1888—9.

"Life and Writings of S. D. Luzzatto", Mr. D. WASSERZUG.

"The Form of Unleavened Cakes", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.

"Spinoza" (2), Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

"Johann Pfefferkorn", Dr. S. HIRSCH.



- "Jewish Diffusion of Folk-lore", Mr. JOSEPH JACOBS, B. A.  
 "Mystical Passages in the Psalms", Mr. C. G. MONTEFIORE, M. A.  
 "Rabbi Akiba Eger", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.  
 "Children in Jewish Literature", Mr. S. SCHECHTER.  
 "The Borderland of Judaism and Christianity; its History and Literature",  
 Dr. H. BEHREND.  
 "David Kimchi", Mr. H. S. LEWIS.  
 "Jewish Martyrs in England", Mr. JOSEPH JACOBS, B. A.  
 "The Attempts of Anton, Speidel, Haupt, and Arends, to reconstitute the  
 Psalmody of the Ancient Hebrews", Mr. F. L. COHEN.  
 "The Sabbatarians in Hungary", Dr. M. GASTER.  
 "The Book of Josippon", Mr. MICHAEL ADLER, B. A.

## 1889—90.

- "Glass in the History of the Jews and other Ancient Nations", Rev. A. LÖWY.  
 "The Koran", Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD.  
 "Sir Walter Scott", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.  
 "Prof. Daniel Sanders", Mr. J. HECKSCHER.  
 "Jewish Historians during the Second Temple", Rev. Dr. M. GASTER.  
 "Rabbi Eliah of Wilna", Mr. S. SCHECHTER.  
 "Wine is a Mocker", Dr. B. W. RICHARDSON, F. R. S.  
 "The Life of Joseph in the Midrashim", Mr. MICHAEL ADLER, B. A.  
 "Zunz", Rev. Dr. CHOTZNER.

## 1890—1.

- "The Book of Proverbs", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.  
 "Jewish Ethical Wills", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.  
 "The Life and Works of S. L. Rapoport", Mr. D. WASSERZUG, B. A.  
 "Some Notes on the Holy Land", Mr. M. N. ADLER, M. A.  
 "Jewish Scholarship among Christians", Rev. ISIDORE HARRIS, M. A.  
 "Job", Rev. L. MENDELSSOHN, B. A.  
 "The Empire of the Chazars according to non-Jewish Writers", Dr. H.  
 HIRSCHFELD.  
 "Marriage Customs", Rev. Dr. B. SALOMON.  
 "Eldad the Danite", Rev. Dr. M. GASTER.  
 "Jewish Education", Rev. ISIDORE MYERS, B. A.  
 "Mediaeval German Jewish Names", Rev. A. LÖWY.  
 "Cromwell's Jewish Intelligencers", Mr. LUCIEN WOLF.  
 "Bible Metaphors", Mr. C. G. MONTEFIORE, M. A.

## 1891—2.

- "Saadia Gaon", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.  
 "Medicine in the Talmud", Mr. J. SNOWMAN.  
 "Palestine and the Monuments", Major CONDER.  
 "Bar Kochba", Rev. J. POLACK, B. A.  
 "Form in Hebrew Poetry", Mr. HARRY S. LEWIS, B. A.

"Some Points of Contact between Jurisprudence and Theology", Rev. L. M. SIMMONS, B. A., L. L. B.

"The Hymns of Rabbi Israel Nadjara", Rev. F. L. COHEN.

"Philo and his Philosophy", Mr. A. KENNER, M. A.

## 1892—3.

"Proofs of the Existence of God", Rev. Dr. M. LERNER.

"Influence of Phoenicia on Palestine", Mr. A. LAZARUS, B. A.

"The First Principles of Judaism by Joseph Albo", Rev. M. HYAMSON, B. A.

"Nachmanides", Mr. S. SCHECHTER, M. A.

"Some Elements in the Religion of Babylonia in their comparative relation to Judaism", Mr. W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN, F. H. S.

"On the Philosophy of Ibn Gabirol", Mr. A. KENNER, M. A.

"The Origin and Development of the Hebrew Vocal-signs and Accents", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

## 1893—4.

"On the Writings of Charizi", Mr. A. LAZARUS, B. A.

"Buddhism", Rev. ISIDORE HARRIS, M. A.

"The Doctrine of Retribution among Hebrews and Greeks", Mr. C. G. MONTEFIORE, M. A.

"Present Assyriological Discoveries in connection with the Bible", Prof. Dr. J. OPPERT.

"The Hebrew Legend of Civilisation", Mr. W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN, F. H. S.

"The Song of Songs", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

"Joseph Sabara and his Book of Delights", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.

"Growth of the Doctrine of Resurrection and Immortality in Paganism and Judaism", Dr. H. BEHREND.

"On Religious Instruction", Mr. F. D. MOCATTA.

## 1894—5.

"Jewish Pilgrims to Palestine", Mr. M. N. ADLER, M. A.

"The Position of the Jewish Woman in the Talmud and Midrash", Rev. I. S. MEISELS.

"The Higher Criticism of the Bible", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

"Florilegium Philonis", Mr. C. G. MONTEFIORE, M. A.

"The Daily Prayers", Mr. S. ALEXANDER.

"Rabbi Akibah and his Times", Rev. ISIDORE HARRIS, M. A.

"Jewish Law and Sanitary Science", Mr. J. SNOWMAN, M. R. C. S., L. R. C. P.

## 1895—6.

"Primitive Culture of the Hebrews", Rev. Dr. A. LÖWY.

"The Poetry of the Midrash", Rev. S. LEVY, B. A.

"Some Sidelights on Jewish History from Assyrian and Babylonian Illustrations", Mr. T. G. PINCHES.

"Rabbi Jehudah, the Prince, the Compiler of the Mishnah", Mr. S. ALEXANDER.

"The Jewish Law of Agency", Rev. L. M. SIMMONS, B. A., L. L. B.

"The Pharisees", Mr. H. S. LEWIS, B. A.

- "The Learned Chazanim in Jewish Literature", Rev. I. S. MEISELS.  
 "Samaritan Literature and Religion", Mr. A. COWLEY.  
 "Ancient Jewish Mystical Literature", Rev. Dr. M. GASTER.

## 1896—7.

- "The Jews in the Persian Period", Rev. Dr. B. SALOMON.  
 "Carlyle and the Children of Israel", Mr. J. FROST.  
 "Elisha ben Abuyah", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.  
 "The Life and Religion of the early Babylonians", Mr. T. G. PINCHES.  
 "Hillel", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.  
 "The Compilation of the Talmud", Mr. S. ALEXANDER.  
 "Prophets as Popular Orators", Rev. A. A. GREEN.  
 "Proselytes in Talmudical and Post-Talmudical Times", Rev. I. S. MEISELS.

## 1897—8.

- "Song of Deborah in relation to Hebrew, Egyptian and Babylonian Antiquities", Rev. Dr. A. LÖWY.  
 "The Talmud Jerushalmi", Mr. S. ALEXANDER.  
 "The Importance of Arabic for the Study of Hebrew Literature", Dr. A. HIRSCHFELD.  
 "Zionism in Modern Judaism", Rev. A. A. GREEN.

## 1898—9.

- "The Bible in Neo-Hebraic Poetry", Mr. A. FELDMAN, B. A.  
 "Strophic Forms in the Bible", Dr. PAUL RUBEN.  
 "The Prophets as Observers of Nature", Rev. A. A. GREEN.  
 "On Jewish Religious Education", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.  
 "Kalonymos ben Kalonymos, a Hebrew Satirist", Dr. J. CHOTZNER.  
 "The Book of Tobit", Mr. M. SIMON, B. A.  
 "On Hebron", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.

## 1899—1900.

- "Exposition of Philo's Views on the Creation", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.  
 "Ludwig Börne", Mr. A. WOLF, M. A.  
 "Some Philosophical Aspects of Judaism", Dr. S. A. HIRSCH.  
 "The Religious Teachings of Benjamin Jowett", Mr. C. G. MONTEFIORE, M. A.  
 "Some Aspects of Ancient Roman Jewry", Mr. B. L. BENAS.  
 "Notes on Tennyson's 'In Memoriam'", Mr. H. SNOWMAN.  
 "Jeremiah, the Hero-Prophet", Rev. A. A. GREEN.  
 "Figures of Speech in Bible and Talmud", Rev. Dr. CHOTZNER.

## 1900—1.

- "The Chinese Jews", Mr. M. N. ADLER, M. A.  
 "Survey of Recent Jewish Activity", Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.  
 "English Translations of the Bible", Prof. W. P. KER.  
 "A Sketch of Anglo-Jewish History", M. F. HAES.  
 "Some Literary Trifles", Dr. S. A. HIRSCH.  
 "Mohammedan Criticism of the Bible", Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD.

- "Rhyme and Alliteration in the Hebrew Text of the Scriptures", Rev. Dr. M. BERLIN.  
 "The Interpretation of Ch. XXX of Proverbs", Mr. M. SIMON, B. A.  
 "Niese's Criticism on the 1st and 2nd Books of the Maccabees", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.

## 1901—2.

- "Curiosities of Controversy", Rev. S. SINGER.  
 "Moses Mendelssohn", Rev. A. WOLF, M. A.  
 "Ethics of Judaism", Rev. J. M. ASHER, B. A.  
 "Survey of Jewish Literature", Dr. S. A. HIRSCH.  
 "Some Notes on the Fourth Book of Ezra", Mr. C. G. MONTEFIORE, M. A.  
 "Sermons and Sermon Making", Rev. A. A. GREEN.  
 "Parallels in Hebrew and Hindu Thought", Dr. L. D. BARNETT.  
 "The Recent Growth of the Novel", Professor J. SULLY, M. A.  
 "Life and Work of Elias Levita," Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.  
 "Recent Criticism in regard to the Letter of Aristaeus", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.  
 "A Karaite Conversion Story", Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD.  
 "The Temple of Onias", Dr. S. A. HIRSCH.  
 "Notes on the Rites and Ritual for Sabbath Afternoon", Rev. Dr. M. BERLIN.

## 1902—3.

- "Jehuda Halevi", Mr. ISRAEL COHEN.  
 "The Solace of Books", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.  
 "The Arabic Fragments of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge", Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD.  
 "The Mishna", Dr. S. A. HIRSCH.  
 "Rashi and his Bible Commentary", Rev. L. MENDELSSOHN, B. A.

## 1903—4.

- "Chronology of *Pirké Aboth* I", Mr. ISRAEL COHEN.  
 "The Origins of Jewish Mysticism", Rev. G. LIPKIND, B. A.  
 "The Charms of Jewish Literature", Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD.  
 "The Jew of Malta", Prof. ISRAEL GOLLANCZ.  
 "The Jew of Venice", Rev. Dr. B. SALOMON.  
 "The Theory of Ancestral Merit", Rev. S. LEVY, M. A.  
 "The Humours of Hebrew MSS.", Mr. ELKAN N. ADLER, M. A.

## 1904—5.

- Course of six lectures on "Jewish Romantic Literature": —  
 "Introductory Lecture", Rev. S. SINGER.  
 "Early Romance", Mr. I. ABRAHAMS, M. A.  
 "Tales of Wandering Jews in the Middle Ages", Mr. M. N. ADLER, M. A.  
 "Mediaeval Satirical Romances", Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD.  
 "Yiddish Romances", Mr. ISRAEL COHEN, B. A.  
 "The Modern Hebrew Novel, Drama and Satire", Rev. Dr. J. CHOTZNER.

The arrangement of a series of connected lectures for each

session marks a new departure in the history of the Society, the practical success of which has yet to be proved. In commemoration of the 700th anniversary of the death of Rashi, the lectures of the session 1905—6 are being devoted to an exposition of the literary work of this great teacher. But an enumeration of these lectures does not properly fall within the scope of this history, which extends to the 10th November, 1905. It remains to observe that the attendances at these lectures are no longer what they once were. They have passed the zenith of their popularity. But this through no fault of their own. The large number of other literary societies which Jews' College has called into existence has necessarily had the effect of diminishing the public interest in what was once the only literary society in the community. Whatever, then, the future may have in store for these gatherings, their record of sustained literary activity in the past twenty-five years is one that must reflect the highest credit on Jews' College as a centre of learning and enlightenment.

The success of the Jews' College Literary Society, which must largely be attributed to the enthusiasm of its former President, Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, led to the formation of the Jews' College Union Society, which was founded in 1899 for "the promotion of intellectual and social intercourse between present and past students and members of the staff and Council of the College". The Union holds monthly meetings for debates and lectures, and joint debates with other metropolitan societies also form a feature of its programme. It likewise fosters that practice of athletic sports which ISRAEL ABRAHAMS had advocated in the first number of the *Jews' College Journal*, and arranges for rambles and excursions in the summer; and it has an affiliated chess-club.



## V.

A SCHEME OF THEOLOGICAL EXAMINATIONS AND  
DIPLOMAS OF COMPETENCY.

Towards the end of the year in which Jews' College removed to Tavistock House, the Principal formulated a scheme of theological examinations at Jews' College to correspond to the secular examinations of the University of London. The first examination was designed for students graduating as Teachers and Readers, the second for prospective Preachers, and the third for scholars who were training for Rabbinical functions; and the Council were to grant Diplomas in each grade. The principle of the scheme was assented to by the Council on the 8th December, 1881, and its full provisions were finally adopted on the 12th July, 1883, in the subjoined form:

## SCHEME

*Of Examinations for the purpose of granting to Students Certificates of Probationer, Associate, and Fellow of Jews' College. (Constitution, Section XXXII).*

Students who pass the First Examination, as detailed below, and have matriculated at the University of London, or some other recognized University, shall receive Certificates entitling them to be styled Probationers of Jews' College.

Students who pass the Second Examination, below described, and have passed one of the Intermediate Examinations of the University of London, or some other recognized University, shall receive Certificates entitling them to be styled Associates of Jews' College.

Students who pass the Third Examination, below described, and are Graduates of the University of London, or some other recognized University, shall receive Certificates entitling them to be styled Fellows of Jews' College, with the view of their obtaining *התרת הוראה* (Rabbinical Diploma) from the Chief Rabbi.

## FIRST EXAMINATION.

1. *Religion.* — Principles of the Jewish Faith. — The Hebrew Calendar. — General knowledge of the Laws and Customs which regulate Jewish Religious Life. — Composition on some Religious Subject.

2. *History*. — Thorough knowledge of Biblical History. — General knowledge of Post-Biblical History.
3. *Translation and Exposition of the Bible*. — Pentateuch, Haphtaroth, and one of the Historical Books.
4. *Prayer Book*. — Translation of the ordinary Prayers and Translation of the easier portions of the Machzor.
5. *Grammar*. — Elementary. — Analysis and Parsing. — Translation of short and easy sentences from English and Hebrew.
6. *Commentaries on the Bible*. — The Commentary of Rashi on one of the Books of the Pentateuch.
7. *Halachah*. — The Dinim contained in *Derech Hachayim*.
8. *Reading of the Law*. — Ten weekly Portions.
9. *Talmud*. — One easy Masechta of the Mishnah.
10. *Practical Tuition*. — A Class Lesson to be given on some Religious subject.
11. *Vocal Music*.

## SECOND EXAMINATION.

1. *Religion*. — Systematic knowledge of Judaism. — Knowledge of a work such as Sefer-ha-Chinuch and Choboth-ha-Lebaboht. — Essay on some Religious Theme.
2. *History*. — Outlines of Jewish History and Literature.
3. *Bible*. — Translation and Exposition of the Bible.
4. *Commentaries*. — Rashi and Biur on the Pentateuch.
5. *Liturgy*. — Translation of the Machzor.
6. *Talmud*. — Mishnah, one Seder. — Gemara, one Masechta with Rashi and easy portions of the Tosaphoth. — Easy unprepared passages of the Talmud.
7. *Halachoth*. — Either Chayé Adam and Chochmath Adam, or Orach Chayim, and portions of Yoreh Deah and Nachlath Shib'ah, to be specified annually by the Principal.
8. *Grammar*. — Hebrew and Chaldee. — Hebrew Composition.
9. *Reading of the Law*. — Ten weekly portions, and the first section of each Sedra.
10. *Homiletics*. — Preparation and delivery of a Sermon on some given text or theme.
11. *Vocal Music*.

## THIRD EXAMINATION.

1. *Religious Philosophy*. — Thorough knowledge of two of the following works: Maimonides' Sefer Hammada, Shemona Perakim, Moreh Nebochim (each Part counted as one work); Jehudah Halevi's Kuzri, Gabirol's Mekor Chayim, Saadia's Emunoth Ve-deoth, Albo's Ikkarim (each Part counted as one work).
2. *History*. — General knowledge of Jewish History and Literature. — Thorough knowledge of one Epoch.
3. *Bible*. — General knowledge of contents, composition, authorship, age,





REV. A. L. GREEN

*Hon. Secretary, 1852—1883.*

etc., of each book. — Translation. — Thorough knowledge of one book, with its ancient and modern versions.

4. *Commentaries*. — Rashi on the Pentateuch. — Two of the following: Biur, Ibn Ezra, Kimchi, Rashbam, Abarbanel on one of the books of the Prophets or of the Hagiographa.

5. *Talmud*. — Thorough knowledge of two Masechtas with their principal Commentaries.

6. *Halachah*. — The whole of the Orach Chayim, and the principal portions of the Yoreh Deah and Eben Haëzer.

7. *Grammar*. — Hebrew and Chaldee. — Hebrew Composition.

8. *Homiletics*. — Preparation and delivery of a Sermon on some given text or theme.

The Scheme came into operation at once. The Report for 1883 enumerates seven students who successfully passed two of the examinations. Mr. S. HYAMSON, B. A., and Mr. B. SAUL, B. A., were awarded the certificate of Theological Associate; while Messrs. A. ORNSTEIN, J. LEVY, E. DAVIS, B. ELZAS, and S. LEVENE obtained that of Probationer.

## VI.

### THE A. L. GREEN LIBRARY.

The Rev. A. L. GREEN, who had been Honorary Secretary of Jews' College since the foundation of the institution in 1852, died on the 11th March, 1883, struck down suddenly, at the age of 61, in the midst of his public labours. While this event removed from the community its foremost ministerial worker, to Jews' College it signified the loss of one who, next to the Chief Rabbi, had been one of the most energetic workers for the institution in its early struggles for popular recognition. Besides acting as Honorary Secretary, and for some years as Chairman of the Education Committee, he had been the means of attracting to it valuable financial assistance. It was through Mr. GREEN that the Resident Scholarship and Free Pupilship Endowment was presented by a donor who has always remained anonymous. Mr. GREEN was also the channel through which



an anonymous prize of £5 for the purchase of books was given each year to a meritorious student. Of late years he had ceased to take an active part in the management of the College. That he had not, however, abated his interest in its welfare was evidenced by the fact that his last conversation on communal affairs, a quarter of an hour before his death, was with the Secretary of the College, "to whom he promised personal help in a matter affecting its income". The death of Mr. GREEN left his colleague, Mr. JOSHUA M. LEVY, sole Honorary Secretary of the College. In the course of the following year Mr. LEVY resigned his position, and was succeeded by the Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN, who still retains office, in the tenure of which he has proved a pillar of strength to the institution. Three months after the death of Mr. GREEN, the Council had placed before it the following communication: —

4 Charlotte Street.

Portland Place w.

June 13th 1883.

My dear Dr. HERMANN ADLER.

It is with the greatest confidence I appeal to you to assist me in fulfilling a wish that was very dear to my lamented Husband. I refer to his desire that his Hebrew and Theological Library should be of public utility to the community. To carry this into effect I am anxious to convey the Library for the public use in trust to the following gentlemen, in addition to yourself and my son, Mr. EPHRAIM GREEN; namely Dr. ASHER, Mr. D. L. ALEXANDER, and Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL. I have every hope that the well-known gentlemen whom my dear Husband held in high esteem will consent to act as trustees from regard to his memory and for the benefit of the community. It is not in my power to provide a Library for the reception of the books, but it suggests itself to me that no more fitting house could be found than the Jews' College. If the books should find a resting-place in the College, which will I trust be consolidated as an important centre of Jewish learning, it would afford me peculiar gratification to know that the students could find invaluable sources of information in the Library. At the same time the name of my dear Husband would be associated with an Institution which, as I have been reminded since his untimely death by the eloquent acknowledgement of the Council, he largely assisted to found and develop.

I therefore beg you will have the kindness to ascertain from the Council of the Jews' College whether they would be willing, under agreement with the Trustees, to take charge of and safeguard the Library for the permanent public use of the community, in memory of my late Husband, the Rev. A. L. GREEN. If the Council, in their wisdom, will entertain this proposition, I would venture to suggest that they should confer with the Trustees as to the conditions under which the Library should be deposited, and free access given to the public. And if you, dear Dr. ADLER, will communicate them the result of such deliberations, I feel no doubt that I shall cheerfully approve them, and shall be prepared forthwith to convey the Library to the gentlemen I have named as Trustees. Thanking you in anticipation for the assistance I am sure you will give me in this matter, in which I naturally take the most anxious interest,

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

PHOEBE GREEN.

Rev. Dr. ADLER,  
Delegate Chief Rabbi.

Mrs. GREEN's valuable offer was gratefully accepted, and steps were taken by the Trustees to raise an "A. L. GREEN Memorial Fund" for the permanent endowment of the Library, and to defray the cost of its suitable establishment at Jews' College. On its reception there, the Principal, Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER, was appointed Librarian, and forthwith proceeded to compile a Catalogue, arranging the books under twenty-seven sections. The Memorial Fund collected amounted to about £500.

Jews' College thus, for the first time, became possessed of a library worthy of a theological seminary. The inadequacy of the original Jews' College Library, comprising the L. M. ROTHSCHILD Library and the MICHAEL JOSEPHS' collection, has already been referred to. It had, however, been greatly improved by constant additions, and was, at a later period, to be brought very much up-to-date by the generous benefactions of such friends of the institution as Mrs. J. L. JACOBS, the late ALFRED L. COHEN, and Mr. CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE. It may now be said to contain all the better-

known works required by the general as well as the Jewish student — works on Jewish Theology, Bible, Liturgy, Talmud, History, Philosophy, Homiletics, Linguistics; as well as Dictionaries, Encyclopaedias, and Periodicals. But twenty-two years ago it was still in a half-formed state. The accession of the A. L. Green Library was therefore of the utmost importance to the College students, not to speak of the general public and past students, to whom it was thrown open as a lending library. It comprised about 6000 volumes, which Mr. GREEN, with no ordinary enthusiasm for learning, had accumulated during his hard-working life. Besides being rich in pamphlets on Anglo-Jewish History and Anglo-Jewish Polemics, Mr. GREEN'S collection was valuable in almost every branch of Jewish Literature, and was represented by just the kind of works required for ministerial study. Mr. GREEN was not only an enthusiastic collector of books, he was a laborious reader of them. And how diligently he studied them is shown by the critical notes appended in his own handwriting on the margins and fly-leaves of almost every volume. It need scarcely be pointed out how considerably these notes, which call attention to cognate and related passages in other works, besides throwing an interesting light on the mental idiosyncrasies of their author, enhance the value of the volumes to which they are appended. With the aid of the Endowment Fund it has happily been found possible to make periodical additions to the A. L. Green Library, which help to bring it up to date.

## VII.

### DEATH OF SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE AND OTHER LOSSES.

On the 8th Cheshvan, November 8, 1883, Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE entered his hundredth year. The Montefiore

Centenary was an event which Jewish institutions all over the world were proud to commemorate. But Jews' College had special reasons for joining in the celebration, for the venerable Baronet had been one of its earliest and best friends. In common with numberless other bodies it could do no less than present an address of hearty congratulation on the memorable occasion. To this address the following signed reply was received: —

East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate

Jany. 30th 1884.

To the Revd. Dr. N. M. ADLER, Chief Rabbi, etc., etc., President of the Jews' College, Sir B. H. ELLIS, K. C. S. I., Chairman of Council, HENRY SOLOMON, Esq., CHARLES SAMUEL, Esq., Treasurers, and Revd. JOHN CHAPMAN, Hony. Secy.

Revd. and Dear Sirs,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed letter, dated the 25th November, conveying to me your congratulations on the occasion of my entering, by the blessing of the Almighty, upon my hundredth year of life, and feel great pleasure in expressing to you warmest acknowledgements for the kind sentiments you were pleased to evince therein towards me.

In appreciation of the honour you conferred upon me by your communication, I have placed the same among the important documents I keep in Judith, Lady Montefiore Theological College, with a view of making known to those who attend there for the study of our Holy Law and the Hebrew Literature the kindness which prompted you to address me on the auspicious occasion.

Most fervently do I pray to Him who has been, and ever will be, the Guardian of Israel to cause His choice blessings to alight upon yourselves and your respected families, so that you may be permitted to continue in your praiseworthy work of promoting the welfare of the Jews' College for many years to come.

I have the honour to be

Revd. and Dear Sirs

Yours very truly

MOSES MONTEFIORE

Sir MOSES lived to complete his hundredth year, and to enter his 101st. This event too had been appropriately recognized by the Council. Sir MOSES again replied to the Council's congratulations, and as this was probably the last



communication that he lived to address to the College, it may fittingly find a place in a history of the institution: —

East Cliff Lodge, Ramsgate

December 4th. 5645

To the Revd. Dr. N. M. ADLER, Chief Rabbi, President, Sir BARROW ELLIS, K.C.S.I., Vice-President, HENRY SOLOMON, Esq., CHARLES SAMUEL, Esq., Treasurers, and Revd. JOHN CHAPMAN, Honorary Secretary, of the Jews' College, London.

Revd. and Dear Sirs,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed letter, conveying to me your felicitations on the occasion of the Centennial anniversary of my natal day.

My heart is overflowing with sincere thankfulness to the Most High for having tended me all my life, and there will for ever remain enshrined within my memory the grateful sense I entertain of the manifestations of kindness which I received from you and many valued friends on my entering, as well as on my completing, the hundredth year of my existence.

I appreciate highly the token of friendship by which you have greatly honoured me, and fervently pray that the Most Supreme may shield you and your families so as to enable you to continue your noble exertions in the cause of Religion, in the cause of suffering humanity, and in the vindication of truth and justice. I call upon Him who is the Eternal Disposer of events to inspire you with holy zeal, that you may not rest until all the innocent sufferers from oppression will be relieved, and Israel dwell in peace in every part of the globe.

I am, with best regards,

Yours very truly,

MOSES MONTEFIORE

The great Centenarian was now nearing his end. On the 28th July, 1885, he died, amidst the most universal demonstrations of mourning that modern Israel has known. The Council's Annual Report for that year — the Annual Reports were now and henceforward from the graceful pen of the Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN, to whose compilations we are much indebted — gave first place to the tribute of respect which they felt impelled to pay to the memory of their former Vice-President: —

The feelings of pleasure with which they had hailed the commencement and the completion of the hundredth year in the Life of Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE,





REV. JOHN CHAPMAN  
HON. SECRETARY



MR. HENRY H. HYAMS  
SECRETARY



and to which they had given expression in addresses of hearty congratulation, were soon doomed to be replaced by emotions of profound regret through the death of their venerable benefactor. It was he who, in conjunction with a small band of earnest men, headed by the Chief Rabbi, laid the foundation of the institution more than thirty years ago, and as Vice-President he devoted to it much earnest personal effort during the early years of its existence. The Council rejoice to think that in the Scholarship bearing the name of JUDITH Lady MONTEFIORE, with which he endowed the College, the Institution will for ever retain not only a memento of his beloved wife, but also a cherished memorial of one whose life and whose deeds are the common heritage of the Jewish race in all parts of the globe.

The death of another benefactor of the College had taken place in the previous year, Mr. L. M. ROTHSCHILD having died in Paris on the 28th October 1884, the same day on which, according to the English date, Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE entered his 101st year. Indeed he had himself but just taken part in the Montefiore Centenary Service held at the Portuguese Synagogue in Paris. In the words of the Council's Report for that year: —

An ardent promoter of every good work and especially of religious and secular education, he gave from the first an enthusiastic support to the cause which the Council have at heart, the training of Ministers and Teachers for the Anglo-Jewish community; and the Council recall, with feelings of very grateful remembrance, how, at an early period in the history of the College, he purchased the valuable Library of Sussex Hall, and presented it unconditionally to our institution. Although for many years he had ceased to take an active part in the management of the College, his heart was always with it; and the very munificent bequest which he has directed shall revert, in certain contingencies, to this Institution, was the last and enduring proof of the warm interest which he never ceased to feel in its welfare.

The bequest here referred to reverted to the College in 1902-3, and amounted to £8,188 — a third of the residue of the testator's estate.

The third great loss which Jews' College suffered at about this period was the death of Sir BARROW ELLIS, which took place on the 20th June, 1887. A special meeting of the Council was shortly afterwards convened, at which the following Resolution was adopted: —

Chief Minister of the Bourke Street Synagogue, Melbourne, and President of the local Beth Din, had already enjoyed the benefits of the Fund, but not under the auspices of the College. He had proceeded to the Berlin Seminary to complete his studies, and had taken the degree of "Doctor of Philosophy", with a dissertation "On the Sources of Medrash Echah" which received eulogistic notice in the Continental and English press.

In the following year (1884) the family of the late ISAAC MOSES MARSDÉN, of Kensington Gardens Terrace, established, through the medium of the Rev. S. SINGER, an Entrance Scholarship, "to assist deserving Students between the ages of thirteen and seventeen years". "There is room", writes the Report for this year, "for several more foundations of this kind, the beneficial character of which cannot easily be overrated; for they are the means of starting on a career of study, unhampered by the cares of daily subsistence, talented and promising Students, anxious to devote themselves to the Ministry, and whose services would otherwise be lost to the Jewish community".

About the same time the College found itself compelled to make a special appeal to the community for funds. The document setting forth its claims is of interest not so much for the light which it throws on the chronic condition of its finances, as for the account it gives of the services that the College was already rendering to the community as far back as twenty years ago: —

It is with feelings of pleasure and satisfaction that the College can point to the very substantial results which have been already attained by the College. Its students have filled, or are filling, some of the most important posts in the Synagogues and Schools of this Country and its Colonies, including —

Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Bevis Marks  
New West End Synagogue, St. Petersburg Place

New Synagogue, Great St. Helen's  
 Berkeley Street Synagogue  
 Western Synagogue, St. Alban's Place  
 North London Synagogue  
 Boro' Synagogue  
 St. John's Wood Synagogue  
 Manchester Synagogue (Portuguese)  
 Manchester New Synagogue  
 Liverpool Old Congregation  
 Glasgow Synagogue  
 Bristol Synagogue  
 Portsea Synagogue  
 Leeds Synagogue  
 Hull Synagogue  
 Swansea Synagogue  
 Sheffield Synagogue  
 Oxford Synagogue  
 Melbourne Synagogue  
 Kimberley Synagogue  
 Auckland Synagogue  
 Hartford (Conn.) Synagogue

Head Masters of, or Teachers in:

Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum  
 Boro' Jewish Schools  
 Stepney Jewish Schools  
 Jews' College  
 Jewish Association Sabbath Schools  
 New Castle Street Board Schools  
 Chicksand Street Board Schools  
 Settle Street Board Schools

&c., &c., &c.

besides filling appointments as Visitors to Prisons, Country Congregations, and Convalescent Homes, and as occasional preachers in the pulpits of numerous Synagogues, including Bayswater, New West End, Duke's Place, Great St. Helen's, Central, Hambro', Boro', North London, and a large number of minor places of worship in all parts of the country.

The financial position of the College was certainly not improved by the sudden and unexpected withdrawal, in 1887, of the annual subvention of £200 which the United Synagogue had made for many years. The total withdrawal was the result of a misunderstanding. The Finance Committee had recommended a reduction of the grant to £100.



This reduction was strongly opposed by Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL and others at the United Synagogue Meeting held on February 1st, 1887. In the end it was negatived; but as the motion for a subvention of £200 was likewise negatived, the College lost, for the time being, even the £100 that the Finance Committee had originally proposed. Jews' College had reason to deplore the decision on other and higher grounds than "the financial disturbance occasioned by the sudden loss of such a substantial and constant source of income. The example of the United Synagogue had powerfully emphasized the oft-repeated contention of the Council of this College that the training of Ministers of Religion for the Congregations of the British Empire was eminently a movement which had a claim upon the support of Congregations, as distinct from individuals. It indulged the hope that, in the near future, other Congregations at home and abroad would, according to their means, make an annual grant to an institution founded with the sole purpose of doing for them the most essential part of a duty which they could not perform for themselves — the training of Ministers for their pulpits, and Teachers for their children — and signs were not wanting that this idea had begun to assert itself in the Anglo-Jewish Community. It is to be feared that the decision of the United Synagogue may seriously retard the consummation of this desired result."

The question was reopened at a subsequent meeting of the United Synagogue, and on November 1st the reduced grant of £100 was voted. By a compensating coincidence it happened, that, shortly after the United Synagogue had withdrawn its assistance, the West London Synagogue of British Jews, for the first time in its history, voted £50 to the College, "in recognition of the indispensable services

which that Institution is rendering to the Community in the training of the Jewish Clergy". This graceful act — a recognition also of the circumstance that one of its Ministers (the Rev. ISIDORE HARRIS) had received his training at Jews' College — was principally due to the public-spirited advocacy of Mr. OSWALD JOHN SIMON, seconded by Mr. LEOPOLD SCHLOSS, Sir PHILIP MAGNUS (already a Member of the Council), and Mr. F. D. MOCATTA. "To the West London Synagogue at large", says the Jews' College Report for 1887, in referring to the fact, "and to those gentlemen in particular, the warmest thanks of the Council are due. So striking an act of true communal brotherhood is a notable event in Anglo-Jewish history, full of significance for the present, and bearing the promise of happiest augury for the future".

The grant from Berkeley Street was unfortunately not repeated in the following year, and as the United Synagogue now only voted a reduced annual grant of £100, the College again found itself in difficulties, which were only met by the exertions of Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL, one of the Treasurers. Mr. SAMUEL made a special collection among his friends, and for the time being the College was able to pay its way. Nor was this the only service that Mr. SAMUEL rendered about this time to the institution whose welfare he had so much at heart. He again enriched its library, presenting to it a number of valuable works purchased from the collection of the late Dr. ASHER, the learned Secretary of the United Synagogue.

A couple of years later the pressing necessities of the College led to the appointment of a Finance Committee "to consider, and to put into action, the various methods by which the College is to be placed on a more satisfactory basis — by a personal canvass, by a festival, or by such

other means as may be suggested". The Committee recommended a public appeal, setting forth the claims of the College to the community's support, and drawing up a list of all the synagogues, schools and public institutions that had benefited from the services of students trained at Jews' College. That list showed that nearly every important congregation in the United Kingdom was indebted to the College for its spiritual guides, besides many communities in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada and the United States. More than eighty per cent of the Jewish pulpits in the United Kingdom alone were filled by former College students — a proof of usefulness which "came almost as a revelation to many old supporters of the College, and produced a marked effect wherever circulated".

The result of such an appeal was, as it deserved to be, no inconsiderable success, seconded as it was by the efforts of many past students and friends of the College. Prominent among those who thus exerted themselves was the Rev. S. SINGER, who obtained eight donations of £100 each as an addition to an Endowment Fund originated in 1877 by Mr. DAVID DAVIS, of Blackheath. To one of these donations a particular interest attached. It represented "a half of the fee received by Mr. CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE, M. A., as Hibbert Lecturer, which he generously handed over to Jews' College, thus linking the memory of a unique incident in Anglo-Jewish history with an Institution whose function it is to promote and encourage studies, the cultivation of which in other spheres of learning have found such eloquent and learned expression in the Hibbert Lectures of 1892".

In March, 1891, Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL had the misfortune to lose his wife, and in the course of the following year he gave further proof of his munificent devotion to the College by founding in her memory the "MARIANNE SAMUEL

Scholarship". This endowment of £1000, yielding £40 a year, was "to be annually awarded to a student who has graduated, and passed the second Hebrew Examination at Jews' College, and is preparing for some higher examination at the University, or for the Fellowship Examination at Jews' College. Failing a student with these qualifications in any year, the proceeds of the investment for the year to go to the general funds of the College. The Scholarship to be tenable for one year, but the holder to be eligible for re-election."

## IX.

## DEATH OF THE CHIEF RABBI. — OTHER LOSSES.

Since the year 1880, when failing health compelled his retirement from the more active duties of his office, Dr. N. M. ADLER had resided at Brighton, the executive functions of the Rabbinate having been delegated to his son, the Rev. Dr. HERMANN ADLER. The Chief Rabbi, however, continued to the last to keep in touch with the more important responsibilities of his position, foremost among which must be reckoned the interests of the institution which he had called into existence and sustained by his ceaseless exertions. When on the 21st January, 1890, the intelligence spread that the Chief Rabbi was no more, Jews' College had cause to feel a unique sense of bereavement. To set forth all that the institution owed to its Founder, Father and Friend would have been impossible, would have been tantamount to a history of the numberless discouragements and vicissitudes with which the College had had to battle from the hour of its inception. But the Council expressed their sentiments as adequately as they could in the following series of resolutions: —



"That this Council desire to place on record the expression of their feelings of profound sorrow and regret at the death of the venerable and lamented President of this College, the Rev. Dr. NATHAN MARCUS ADLER, Chief Rabbi of the United Congregations of the British Empire.

"Fired by his burning zeal for the spiritual welfare and advancement of the numerous Congregations of his widely-extended pastorate, he, nearly forty years ago, conceived the idea of founding an Institution which should send forth trained and cultured Ministers, Preachers, Readers and Teachers of Religion for the service of the Anglo-Jewish Community in all parts of the world. Aided by a small band of earnest workers, he established this College. The struggles and difficulties of its early years were, mainly through his devoted energy, successfully surmounted; and, cradled by his watchful care, and reared under his unceasing vigilance and supervision, the Institution became the recognized training College of the Anglo-Jewish Community.

"The Council recall with feelings of gratitude and admiration how ardently he threw himself into the inner working of the Institution, presiding over the deliberations of the Council in an unbroken chain of meetings during a period of nearly thirty years, aiding the Principal and the Staff by his counsel and advice, stimulating, encouraging and exhorting the Students in the work of their daily lives, and enlisting in the service of the Institution the best efforts of devoted communal workers in the bosom of his own family.

"Truly might the Institution be called the favoured child of his communal fatherhood; and the Council in tendering to the members of his bereaved family the expression of their profound sympathy in the hour of their great affliction, are imbued with the conviction that the tree which he







HENRY SOLOMON

*Treasurer, 1855-1891*

planted will ever remain a living memorial to his memory, yielding abundant and increasing fruits through the coming years, and keeping his memory green among the widely scattered Congregations of this Great Empire, which, in his life-time, were the ever-present objects of his fostering care."

Earlier in the year the Council had had to deplore the death of another old friend of the College, and a munificent supporter — BARNETT MEYERS, the donor of two Scholarships bearing his name. In 1863 Mr. MEYERS had founded a scholarship of £30 a year. The property made over to the College for the purpose yielded, however, £50 a year. This surplus accumulated until, in 1877, the Endowment yielded two Scholarships, each of the value of £30 a year.

Yet another valued worker was now (1891) removed by the hand of death — Mr. HENRY SOLOMON, son-in-law of the late Chief Rabbi. He was the very last of the "old guard", an original Treasurer of the College, and a faithful member of the Council since its foundation. At a special meeting convened to take note of this event, the following Resolution was adopted: —

That this Council have received with profound sorrow the unhappy news of the death of their highly respected Treasurer and Colleague, the late HENRY SOLOMON, and they desire to tender to his bereaved Widow, children and family the expression of their warmest sympathy in the irreparable loss which they have sustained. In him they have lost the oldest and staunchest friend of the Institution who yet remained from among the earnest band of helpers who aided the late revered Chief Rabbi in founding the Institution nearly forty years ago.

Through all these eventful years his most ardent personal efforts and sagacious counsel have always been freely placed at the service of the College. He attended its meetings in one unbroken chain until the very last. No inducement of personal ease or domestic comfort, not even the urgent consideration of advancing years, kept him away from the Council table.

In his sterling character his colleagues recognized the great qualities of strength and gentleness, earnest enthusiasm and conspicuous moderation, firmness and decision as to his own views, combined with the utmost res-

pect and consideration for the opinions of others; qualities which endeared him to all who came within the sphere of his friendship and acquaintance. Loving peace and pursuing peace, he has gone to his honoured rest, followed by universal regret, and by none among his numerous colleagues and co-workers more deeply and sincerely lamented than by the Council of this College. They fervently hope that the Almighty may vouchsafe to his bereaved widow and family a full measure of heavenly comfort, and that they may find consolation in the possession of the honoured name and cherished memory which he leaves as a heritage to all his children.

Mr. SOLOMON was succeeded in office by his son, Mr. JAMES H. SOLOMON, the present Senior Treasurer, his elder colleague at the time being Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL.

## X.

### THE NEW PRESIDENT.

On Thursday June 4, 1891, the Rev. Dr. HERMANN ADLER was elected to fill the post of Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire, which had been vacant since the death of Dr. NATHAN MARCUS ADLER, at the commencement of 1890. Dr. ADLER thus became *de facto* President of Jews' College in succession to his father, combining with this position the office of Chairman of the Council, which he had held since the death of Sir BARROW ELLIS, in 1887. In succeeding to the Presidential post the Chief Rabbi was undertaking duties with the performance of which he had become familiarized during the past ten years, when, as Delegate to the late Chief Rabbi, there had devolved on him a position of ever-increasing responsibility in the counsels of the College. As Theological Tutor, his intimate connection with the institution had dated back to the year 1864, and he had been active as a Member of the Council since he resigned these functions in 1880. His interest in the College had thus been a continuous one, extending over more than



THE VERY REV. DR. HERMANN ADLER (CHIEF RABBI)

*President and Chairman of Council.*





a quarter of a century, and he brought to his new position a ripe experience, a wide influence, and an inherited devotion to the welfare of the students, which were destined to make their mark on the subsequent progress of the College.

## XI.

## FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

Slowly but surely the College was growing from strength to strength. The vigilance with which the Council watched over the welfare of the students committed to their care had continuously increased ever since the establishment of the Education Committee, of which the late MICHAEL HENRY was the first Honorary Secretary. He was succeeded in this office by the Rev. S. SINGER, the present Honorary Secretary. Volume upon volume of Council minutes bear testimony to the value of this Committee, and to the numberless details relating to each individual student with which it has had to deal. To render its supervision more effective, Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL, (at whose desire Dr. ABRAHAM COHEN had become Honorary Medical Officer to watch over the health of the students) framed a scheme (1889) for the appointment of advisers to those students who might stand in need of individual encouragement from some member of the Council or past student of the College. The plan shortly afterwards came into operation, and one reads in the minutes of this period such lists as the following: —

<i>Adviser</i>	<i>Student</i>
Rev. Dr. ADLER	JOHN S. HARRIS
M. N. ADLER Esq. M. A.	S. BRONKHORST
L. L. ALEXANDER Esq.	M. HARRIS
H. BENTWICH Esq. L. L. B.	R. SOLOMON
J. BERGTHEIL Esq.	I. COHEN

Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN	A. DAVIS and H. DAVIS
ARTHUR DAVIS Esq.	D. I. FREEDMAN
H. A. FRANKLIN Esq.	G. FRIEDLANDER
JOSHUA M. LEVY Esq.	H. L. PASS
L. LEWISOHN Esq.	H. GOLDSTEIN
CHARLES SAMUEL Esq.	S. LEVY and H. ORLER
Rev. S. SINGER	A. FELDMAN
JAMES H. SOLOMON Esq.	J. ABELSON
Rev. J. STERN	G. LIPKIND and M. BENSKI
Rev. B. BERLINER	L. ISAACS
HENRY HYMANS Esq.	S. BLUMENTHAL

The supervision of the Education Committee extended also to the classes which the students were attending at University College. Having, in the course of 1893, put itself into official communication with the Gower Street institution, the Secretary, Mr. HORSBURGH, was enabled to inform the Committee "that he had already forwarded detailed reports from the various Professors, speaking in highly satisfactory terms of the work, progress, and regularity of the students". And the favourable character of these reports was further attested by the following successes in the class examinations for that year: —

Mr. S. GELBERG B. A., Second Prize for Philosophy; Mr. S. LEVY B. A., Book Prize for German; Mr. J. ABELSON, Hollier Hebrew Scholarship; Mr. D. I. FREEDMAN, Second Class Certificate for English; Mr. A. FELDMAN, Third Class Certificate for Ancient History.

The following year showed equally good results: —

Mr. D. I. FREEDMAN, First Class Certificate of Honour in Senior Mathematics. Mr. J. ABELSON, First Class Certificate of Honour in Philosophy of Mind and Logic; Second Class Certificate in Anglo-Saxon and English Literature, Senior Class.

Mr. A. WOLF, Second Class Certificate in English Literature.

Mr. I. COHEN, Senior Andrew Scholarship.

Mr. A. FELDMAN, Hollier Hebrew Scholarship.

The latter scholarship has been gained by a Jews' College student in nearly every year since it was thrown open to students of the College.

For some years Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER had been in the habit of holding public sessions on Monday evenings for the study of Rabbinics. Towards the end of 1888 he suggested the appointment of Mr. S. SCHECHTER as an additional lecturer. Mr. SCHECHTER filled this post until the end of 1890, when he was appointed Reader in Hebrew and Rabbinic Literature at the University of Cambridge. Shortly afterwards the lectures were discontinued.

## XII.

### THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS.

Jews' College having been established for the training of Teachers as well as Ministers, a new departure on which it entered in the course of 1892 was one that came well within the scope of its Constitution. In view of the constantly-increasing number of Board School Religion Classes, Mr. ABRAHAM LEVY, Head Master of the Old Castle Street Board School, petitioned the Council to grant facilities whereby elementary teachers might obtain Hebrew and Religious instruction at Jews' College, "to qualify them to teach Jewish children in Board Schools under the Chief Rabbi's Code". To this application the Council gave its willing assent, Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER having, with characteristic devotion to the cause of education, undertaken to organize special classes for teachers. These classes continued to be taught at Jews' College until they were taken over by

the Teachers' Training Committee of the Jewish Religious Education Board, and they now form a prominent feature of the educational work which this latter body controls.

This action of Jews' College in the interests of Jewish teachers was presently to be followed by a yet more important step. At the instance of Mr. ARTHUR FRANKLIN, the Council decided upon a Scheme of Examinations for Teachers of Hebrew and Religion, and the granting of Certificates of Competency. These Examinations still continue in force, and the provisions of the Scheme are set forth in the following announcement: —

1. The Council of Jews' College give notice that Examinations for Teachers will be held annually in the month of December. A second examination will be held in July, should sufficient candidates enter. These examinations will be open to all who desire to be qualified as Teachers of Hebrew and Religion. Candidates resident outside London may, under special conditions, be examined in the places where they live.

2. Candidates will be required to give or produce evidence of power of teaching; class teaching being compulsory for those who desire to teach in schools.

3. There will be three grades of Examination, viz., Preliminary, Intermediate, and Advanced; and the Council will grant Certificates to those candidates who pass the examinations to the satisfaction of the examiners.

4. A fee of 5s. will be charged to candidates for the Preliminary Examination, and of 10s. for each of the Intermediate and Advanced Examinations. An additional fee of 2s. 6d. will be charged in the case of candidates examined outside London.

All communications must be addressed to the Principal, Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER, Queen Square House, Guilford Street, W.C. The exact dates of the examinations will be announced in the Jewish Press.

5. The following is the Syllabus of each examination: —

#### PRELIMINARY GRADE.

1. Hebrew.—(a) Reading and Translation of Passages in Standards I to VII of the Chief Rabbi's Code, but with special reference to the following pages in the "Authorised Daily Prayer Book": 1-9; 29-33; 37-54; 115-119; 136-142; 227-229; 239-242. (b) One book of the Hebrew Bible.
2. Hebrew Grammar, Nouns; Prefixes and Suffixes; Regular Verb. Translation of easy sentences from English into Hebrew.
3. Scripture.—Outlines of Scripture History, with their moral lessons.



4. Religion.—The Ten Commandments; the Thirteen Articles of Faith; the Festivals; Moral Duties, including the "Texts of Moral Duties"; the Liturgy; the Jewish Ceremonies.  
(These subjects are treated in substance in Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER'S "Text-Book of the Jewish Religion")
5. Methods of Teaching.—Candidates will be required to write Notes of Lessons on the above subjects, either (*a*) for an ordinary class; or (*b*) for a Kindergarten class.

#### INTERMEDIATE GRADE.

1. Hebrew.—(*a*) Passages at sight from any part of the Daily Prayer Book, and from any part of the Pentateuch. (*b*) One Book of the Hebrew Bible.
2. Hebrew Grammar.—Elementary Accidence, including the Regular Verb and the simpler Irregular Verbs. Easy sentences to be translated from English into Hebrew.
3. Scripture.—General knowledge of the whole of Scripture History, with special knowledge of one Biblical Book.
4. Jewish History.—A specified period.
5. Religion.—The same subjects as for Preliminary Grade, but in fuller detail.
6. Methods of Teaching.—Candidates will be required to write Notes of Lessons on the above subjects.

#### ADVANCED GRADE.

1. Hebrew.—The Passover Haggada, the Haphtaroth, one Historical and one Prophetical or Poetical Book of the Bible. One Tractate of the Mishnah. Orach Chaïm, Hilchot Berachot.
2. Hebrew Grammar.—Accidence and Elementary Syntax. Translation from English into Hebrew.
3. Hebrew Commentary on Genesis.—Rashi or Biur.
4. Scripture.—General knowledge of the contents of the Bible, with a special knowledge of Isaiah and of one historical book to be selected by the candidate. Candidates will be required to show close acquaintance with the specific contents of every book of the Bible and of the Apocrypha.
5. Religion.—General knowledge of the Principles of Judaism.  
Candidates are recommended to study the subjects included in Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER'S "The Jewish Religion".
6. Jewish History.—Outlines of Jewish History and Literature from the Maccabæan Epoch to the age of Mendelssohn, with special knowledge of the First Book of the Maccabees.
7. Methods of teaching the above subjects.

## XIII.

## A NOTABLE ADDRESS.

At the annual distribution of prizes, held on the 28th April, 1895, the Presiding Chairman was Mr. CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE M.A., a Member of the Council. The personality of the speaker combined with the character of his address to give prominence to the occasion. The lofty purpose of Jews' College, its pressing claims upon the community at large, had never been more forcibly presented. In the picture which he drew of its ideals Mr. MONTEFIORE put forward so many novel and suggestive points that his words deserve to be recorded in full as an item of College history: —

Ladies and Gentlemen, — I regard the invitation to preside at this annual gathering of the Jews' College as an honour and a sign. The honour is obvious; by a sign I mean that a Chairman such as myself indicates that the Jews' College, as between and among the various sections of thought in our midst, is universal and unsectarian. The Jewish community, with all its various shades of religious opinion, has but one Jews' College, and the College does well to boast that from its doors have gone forth men of various views and tendencies, who are ministers in various synagogues, both Orthodox and Reform. It is most necessary that this universalism should be maintained. For with the ever-growing variety of opinion — a sure sign of health and progress — existing in our midst, it would inevitably become necessary for more than one Jews' College to exist, unless one could feel more and more sure that the teaching given in this single one should be of a kind and of a spirit *to* which youths of different tendencies might come, and *from* which youths of different tendencies might go. Now, when I meet with persons who have this and that complaint to make against the Jews' College, I may possibly agree with one or another of their criticisms, for I don't suppose that any officer of the Institution thinks it perfect, but I am inclined to reply to them by a counter-attack. If the Jews' College, I say, is wanting here, or is wanting there, whose fault is it? And my answer is that to a large extent it lies at the door of our community as a whole. If the Jews' College is not what or all it should be, it is because it is insufficiently provided with the sinews of war. What are the facts? Surely the one central Training College of a rich community like ours has a right to have a larger yearly income than £1931 all told, for all purposes. I admit that

when I am at Oxford, and look at the grand pile of buildings which is the Training College of the Congregationalists, and the smaller but yet handsome building which is the Training College of the Unitarians, and then remember the building in Tavistock Square, I feel some shame and disappointment. I can't help saying to myself, Could not and should not our community do something to rival Mansfield and Manchester? I remember one of the last times I was honoured and elevated, if as usual somewhat agitated, by a walk with the late Master of Balliol, talking over the whole situation with him. I said, I wish we could imitate the Congregationalists and the Unitarians, and give our young students the immense advantages of an Oxford environment. "Most decidedly you ought," said the Master, "and what is more, I will show you where you ought to build your college"; and he took me to the place. "Here is the land", said he, "for sale — a few thousand pounds, and you secure it for ever. Is there not enterprise enough among you to seize the opportunity?" I said to him then, what I say to you now, that I don't think the Jewish community realizes the great and vital importance of Jews' College, as it is and still more as it might be. I admit that the Congregationalists and the Unitarians have in many respects less burdens than we. They have not to support their poor as such, they have no denominational schools. But still I think the complaint is fair. The community does not realize the importance of Jews' College. If I were asked to name the three most important Jewish Charities in London — I use the word in no narrow sense — I should unhesitatingly say: the Board of Guardians, the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious knowledge, and last but not least, Jews' College. Without adequately trained ministers no religion nowadays can prosper and develop. It is obvious when so put, but people do not realize it, and still less what it implies. It implies the necessity for very large funds indeed, and very large endowments. The first great need connected with our Jews' College is to change the age of the students; our students begin too young and leave too early. The ideal College would have no preparatory class at all. I must say I have seldom witnessed a sadder sight than when, at an Educational Committee of Jews' College, I saw a couple of lads of 14 come up to be admitted as students. Why "sad"? Those boys were asked by the Chairman — he was bound to ask them; if I had been in the chair I should have had to ask them — "Why do you want to enter the College? Why do you want to become ministers?" Ladies and gentlemen, what can a boy of 13 or 14 know of life? What can he know he will think or feel at 21? What can he know whether he will feel fitness for the grave and responsible duties of a clergyman? How can he tell that at 21 his mind and opinions and character may not be utterly unsuited for the office? I know that the students are not bound to remain, and many leave, but they leave feeling that they have wasted the money of the Institution, and therefore perhaps some stay who should leave. Perhaps others never come who ought to have come. Moreover, no boy ought to be trained in any theological college at all. I admit that under the admirable care and influence of Mr. ABRAHAM,

the atmosphere is as little like Stonyhurst as possible, but at the same time we should all admit that the right thing is for a boy to have a wide, broad, general education, with other boys in general schools. Early specializing is one of the gravest errors. It warps the intellect and it may warp the character. And this evil could be largely avoided, if there were lots and lots of money. There should be money to help men to get a general education, as wide and broad as possible, and money to help them afterwards to get their special theological training. Nobody may begin his theological course at Manchester who is not a Graduate. So too should it be with us. And the Undergraduate should not, if he is at Oxford or Cambridge, take Semitic Schools or Semitic Tripos. To me that seems like rejecting specialism with one hand to bring it in with another. The Undergraduate should take that School or that Tripos which is broadly human; he must have his base before he has his crown. A young man of 24 who knows his Maimonides, but does not know his Aristotle, who knows his Graetz, but does not know his Gibbon, is like a doctor who might know something of the ear or throat, but nothing of the human organism as a whole. He knows an isolated part, but in truth he does not know it, because he cannot view it in its true proportions, and realize it in its relations and environment. And the moral of all that is endowments. For in truth, where Congregational and Unitarian Colleges need £10, we need £20. And why? For two reasons. Just because unfortunately we have not yet reached the era in which the sons of well-to-do parents become ministers. Why we have not, or how we could, is another story; the fact no one will disallow. Therefore, we need copious sums of money wherewith to educate our students, and to widen their vision, by widening their environment. If we cannot send them to Oxford at one age, let us send them to Vienna at another. But secondly we need £20 where they need £10, because our men should stay five years where they stay three. Why? Because our men ought to learn much, very much, of all that their men learn, and a great deal more besides which they do not learn at all. I beg your most practical attention to this. Just as the English Jew should learn two histories, the history of England and the history of the Jews, so should a Jewish theological student have a double aspect to his training. It should be general and special. More definitely: The young men who issue from this College are to be ministers of English Jews. And therefore they must help them and lead them, aye, and if need be, reprimand them, not merely as Jews, but also as Englishmen. His flock lead a dual life, and the minister must have a dual training; yes, even in the five years of theological training it must be dual and double-faced, remembering the class of men whom he has to guide, and help, and influence. I should not mind the stigma attaching to Jews' College that no single student has ever received the Rabbinical Diploma at its hands. I should not mind the stigma if it be frankly said, the Rabbinical Diploma cannot be given without the acquisition of a mass of knowledge which has now become obsolete, the possession of which would be of no value to a minister whose task it is to influence the lives of modern English Jews and Jewesses who



live under conditions wholly different from those under which their forefathers lived in mediaeval ghettos, when the Diploma was first established. But let us by all means see that if we do without the Diploma, we have the compensation in that broad and human and modern training of which ministers of modern men in western lands stand so preeminently in need. And the moral of that is endowments. The future of Jews' College is largely a question for you, the Jewish public, the laymen of Israel to determine. As you wish it to be, so in the long run it will become. The demand of the public has created a modern side at our public schools. The demand of the public, together with its endowments (for money is at the root of most good, if of all evil!) will create a modern side at our Jews' College. Now the modern side is needed whether the ministers who come forth from the College go to the East or to the West. If to the West, it is needed, because no minister can really influence his flock — at least, by his words — who is not their equal all round, who is not at home on all sides of their lives, who is not a cultured and cultivated Englishman as well as a cultured and cultivated Jew. And if to the East, it is needed there because you are quite wrong if you think that the East is only the home of conservatism, that a minister there must be trained above all, and trained only, in all the lore of a minister of a hundred years ago, trained to answer questions on the minutiae of ritual carried up to him by conscientious men and women living on a plane of their own. The East, if more conservative than the West, is also far more radical; if more old-fashioned, it is also far more modern. Social questions which we discuss for an idle quarter-of-an-hour, and social problems which we laugh at as absurd or insoluble in West and West-Central drawing-rooms, are burning and pressing realities in the East. And these questions in all their living force and perplexity affect the Jews, and are discussed by the Jews, just as much or more than they affect and are discussed by the Christians. If our ministers are not well abreast of them, they will be left high and dry upon the sands, and their flocks will drift away from them upon currents of which they are ignorant and which they are powerless to guide or stem. This, however, is by the way. The moral of my tale and the burden of my song, remain the same. Rally, O Jewish public! to the support and development of the Jews' College, make it a worthy rival of Mansfield and Manchester. Indifference and neglect never helped any cause and institution yet; if we need to be improved, it is no starvation diet that will do it. Stuff us with money, and we shall blossom as the rose! And now a word to you, who are studying for the highest of all professions. The ministers of the Jewish religion, like those of other Nonconformist denominations — only more so — have few or no great posts or rewards to look to. They have only the burden with little of the recompense, except that which comes to them from within. Let them, therefore, be all the more assured that the work to which they have chosen to give their lives is the highest work to which a man can set his hand. Not all of you can be great preachers; but all of you can be good men. "The good life of a clergyman", said the late



Master of Balliol, "is his best sermon". Not that sermons are unimportant, even to those who preach them. "I am forced to contrast my own life", said the Master, "with the ideal I set forth in my sermons, and I try though very unsuccessfully, to pull up the one to the level of the other". The needs of a Jewish clergyman are manifold — heart and brain and will are all called into play. But the greatest need of all is character. "It is remarkable", said the late Mr. ROMANES, "how even in politics it is the moral and spiritual elements of character which lead to success in the long run, even more than intellectual ability". If it be so in politics, is it not much more so in the Church? The Jesuits are wise in their generation, and they have a habit of turning a man into the particular department for which he is most fitted. One is set to teach, another to write books, a third to convert the heathen, a fourth to be an ordinary parish priest, and so on. We have not the organization and resources to admit of this specialization, but perhaps it matters less if so it be that in all the various branches of work which our ministers have to do, it is character, and again character, which tells. Let not the man of intellect boast of his brains, let not the less gifted despair; for intellect will not, by itself, create character, neither will a comparative lack of it prevent character. And on the whole, too, the sensitive heart will be more able to supply the deficiencies of the understanding than the understanding to supply the deficiencies of the heart. Therefore, though in some respects the work of the ministry makes the highest possible demands upon you — needs the most perfect human instrument — still in other respects it is by no means the cleverest that do it best. He will probably become the best minister, let me say this in conclusion, who takes care that the training of character and will ever accompanies, and is never outstripped by, the training of the intellect, so that from stage to stage, the

Mind and soul, according well,  
May make one music as before,  
But vaster.

#### XIV.

##### AMALGAMATION WITH MONTEFIORE COLLEGE.

The idea of amalgamating Jews' College with one or more kindred theological institutions had long been cherished by the supporters of the older institution. Besides Jews' College, there were in operation two provincial Colleges, having similar aims. The Aria College, at Portsea, had been founded in 1874 by the will of the late Lewis Aria for the education of candidates for the Jewish Ministry, preferentially for those born in Hampshire. The Montefiore College at Ramsgate

had been endowed by the will of Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, in memory of Lady JUDITH, and included, besides a "Yeshiba" for learned men, which had been in existence since 1869, a newly-established training institution for theological students. It was felt that, if it were possible to unite the resources of all three training Colleges, the combined institution would render more efficient service to the community than three separate Colleges. Accordingly, in the course of 1895, the Council, having placed on record their conviction that "a union of the existing Colleges having cognate objects is eminently desirable", proceeded to consider "the possibility of a fusion with Aria and Montefiore Colleges".

In a matter affecting so many interests it was necessary, as the late ALFRED COHEN pointed out in his Chairman's Address of the following year, to move slowly and tentatively. In the first instance the President and Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL were "asked to approach the representatives of Aria College for the purpose of ascertaining their views as to an amalgamation with Jews' College". There appears to have been no immediate outcome from these negotiations. More success, however, attended the efforts that were made in another direction, which must now be related.

Difficulties of administration had led to the closing, in 1896, of the Training College at Ramsgate. In a letter to the Chief Rabbi (June 19th, 1896), Mr. F. D. MOCATTA — one of the most powerful advocates in his day of the principle of communal union — suggested that the occasion was opportune for bringing about the desired amalgamation between Jews' College and Montefiore College. Steps were at once taken to convene a conference between the two bodies. The Rev. Dr. ADLER, Sir PHILIP MAGNUS and Mr. LIONEL ALEXANDER were appointed to represent the older institution, while the other was represented

by a Committee of Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, who were the trustees of Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE'S endowment. This Committee consisted of Sir EDWARD SASSOON, BART., Sir JOSEPH SEBAG-MONTEFIORE, and Messrs. EMANUEL CASTELLO, FREDK. B. HALFORD, JUDAH ISRAEL, JOSHUA M. LEVY, ARTHUR LINDO, EUSTACE A. LINDO, ABRAHAM MOCATTA and E. L. MOCATTA. Mr. ARTHUR LINDO, being compelled in the course of the negotiations to resign, his place was filled by his brother, Mr. GABRIEL LINDO.

From the outset the two bodies met together in the friendliest spirit, all the delegates being animated by the sincere desire to benefit the Anglo-Jewish community, while perpetuating the objects for which Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE had founded the College which bore his name at Ramsgate. The Conference met under the presidentship of Sir EDWARD SASSOON. The original proposal took the form of a joint institution to bear the name of "Montefiore College", a designation which would happily perpetuate the memory of Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE'S foundation at Ramsgate and at the same time connect with Jews' College the name of one of its most venerated founders and Vice-Presidents. It was found, however, that there were certain legal impediments to a complete fusion of the two institutions, and in the end an alternative scheme was adopted by which the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue undertook to make the Council of Jews' College an annual grant of £1000 from the income of the endowment funds of Montefiore College, and at the same time to lend, for the use of Jews' College, such of the contents of their Library as might not be required for use at the Synagogue or College at Ramsgate.

The conditions attaching to the proposal were "that the Elders should have the right to elect to the Council such a number of representatives, not exceeding ten, as they

might think desirable; that both the Sephardic and Ashkenazic pronunciation of Hebrew should be taught in the College; that their contribution of money should be renewable from year to year, as required by the provisions of the foundation deed of Ramsgate College; and that due provision should be made by the Council of Jews' College for the safe custody and insurance of the manuscripts and books lent".

At the same time the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue placed on record "their regret that the proposed arrangement cannot be made permanent without the sanction of the Charity Commissioners, and that if the offer set forth in the above resolution be accepted by the Council of Jews' College, it is their earnest desire that the contribution and loan, on the conditions stated, or on such others as may from time to time be agreed on, will be annually renewed, and that they will not at any time be arbitrarily or capriciously withheld".

The offer, with its accompanying conditions, was gratefully accepted by the Council at its meeting held on the 16th June, 1897. At the meeting of October 20th, in the same year, the Council had the pleasure of welcoming to their body the new members who had been nominated by the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, and who were the same gentlemen that had represented their Synagogue at the Conference.

The Report of the Council for 1887 takes opportunity "to accord to Mr. LIONEL L. ALEXANDER the expression of their grateful acknowledgment for the invaluable help which he has given to the Council during the recent negotiations between themselves and the Governing Body of the sister Institution. To his tact and resource is to be attributed, in no small measure, the smooth working of the somewhat intricate negotiations between the two Institutions".



## XV.

## CHAIRMEN AT PRIZE DISTRIBUTIONS.

It was only in the appropriate order of things that those who had been chiefly and most eminently instrumental in bringing about the amalgamation should have been invited, at this period, to preside at the annual distributions of prizes. At the 1897 function, while the Conference was sitting, the Chairman was Sir EDWARD SASSOON, who, alluding to the scheme of amalgamation, said: —

Only this morning I was engaged in unfolding before the Elders the probable effects of the Scheme, and I may say that all who have considered them are sanguine enough to believe they are likely to conduce to those important objects which the two institutions it is proposed to affiliate were formed to promote. At the several Conferences we held for the purpose of discussing the matter, there was always an exhilarating unanimity. There was a desire to sink differences on minor details, and if the period of courtship has been somewhat prolonged, it was singularly free from those tiffs and differences which we are told dog the course of true love. We had the advice of your esteemed President, Dr. ADLER, Sir PHILIP MAGNUS' unrivalled knowledge of educational matters, the valuable services of Sir J. SEBAG MONTEFIORE and Mr. ABRAHAM MOCATTA, and last, but not least, we had Mr. LIONEL L. ALEXANDER, who, like the sculptor of old, brought out the fair and fascinating features from an almost rude block. He had to bear the brunt of the labour, but with him it was a labour of love. I think that after all this you will want to know what the Elders say. I am pleased to be able to tell you that as regards the general features and principles of the Scheme, they are agreed to them. Provided there be no legal impediments in the way of the ratification of the scheme, I believe they will agree to ratify it.

The next year, the Chairman was Sir JOSEPH SEBAG MONTEFIORE, a former member of the Council of Jews' College, and at the time President of the Board of Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation. The address which he delivered on the occasion was noteworthy for its historical references to the Montefiore endowment: —





*Photo by Elliott & Fry*

SIR EDWARD SASSOON, BART.

*Vice-President.*



Immediately after Sir MOSES' death, the Elders anxiously occupied themselves with considering how they could best administer the annual income arising from the large amount of the endowment funds for the benefit of the Jewish community at large. Counsel's opinion was taken as to the extent to which any new Scheme could legally be carried out. The Elders, as was their duty, first provided for the maintenance, in a very complete way, of the synagogue at Ramsgate which, to use Sir MOSES' own words, he had erected (in the year 1832) "as an humble tribute to the Almighty for His great and manifold blessing", and which he and his pious wife so dearly loved throughout their lives. Then a Scheme, formulated with the assistance of Mr. DE CASTRO and Mr. CASTELLO, Junr., was finally adopted by the Elders for the establishment of a College at Ramsgate, which was opened in 1888. After an experience of some years this was not found to answer the expectations entertained of it, and it was finally closed in 1896..... Now, however, by the recent action of the Elders, not alone are the original objects of the endowment faithfully and literally carried out, but these have been largely and usefully extended. Personally, I should be particularly well pleased if the Council of the College would specially appropriate the grant of £1000, or some considerable portion of it, to the creating of a certain number of scholarships tenable at any University in the United Kingdom. Hence, we Elders now find ourselves in the happy position of carrying out in an ideal and liberal way what I feel certain, indeed all may fairly believe, would have been in entire accord with the views and wishes of the venerable founder.

Sir JOSEPH's successor, in the year following, was Mr. LIONEL ALEXANDER, who made mention of the interesting fact that his father had been one of the founders and original Treasurers of Jews' College, and that when his health broke down, and he was no longer able to attend to the affairs of the College, the Council had elected the son a member of their body. Pointing to a book-case which covered one side of the room, Mr. ALEXANDER stated that it contained the priceless treasures that had been lent by Ramsgate College, which he hoped would be utilized by many past, as well as present, students.

The association of the two institutions was not the only labour upon which Mr. ALEXANDER brought his splendid organizing abilities and unrivalled enthusiasm to bear. The new Scheme necessitated certain changes in the Constitution,

which he now underlook to formulate. No radical changes were made, but opportunity was taken to delete regulations which were no longer useful, and to introduce new laws which had become necessary in consequence of the continuous growth in the aims and work of the College.

## XVI.

## THE CHAIR OF ARABIC AND SYRIAC. — THE MONTEFIORE LIBRARY.

The endowment of the Montefiore College trustees, and the transference of its valuable Library to Jews' College, enabled the Council to establish a lectureship in Arabic and Syriac, combining the post with that of Sub-Librarian, and to appoint to the new position the former Professor of Semitic Languages at Ramsgate — Dr. HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, M. R. A. S. This eminent scholar was born at Thorn on the 18th December, 1854, and was the son of the preacher to that community, Dr. A. HIRSCHFELD. On his mother's side, he was the grandson of the famous preacher, SALOMON PLESSNER. He studied Oriental languages and philosophy at the University of Berlin, besides attending lectures at the *Rabbiner-Seminar* of Dr. HILDESHEIMER. He graduated at Strasburg in 1878, and served for one year in the German army. Then, after resuming his studies in Berlin, he went, in 1882, to Paris, where he studied under Prof. DERENBOURG, and attended lectures at the *Collège de France*, the *École Moderne des Langues Orientales*, and the *École des Hautes Études*.

Returning to Germany, he engaged in tutorial and literary work until 1889, when he became Professor of Biblical Exegesis and Oriental Languages at Montefiore College. To his position at Jews' College, Dr. HIRSCHFELD was soon to add that of Lecturer in Semitic Epigraphy at

University College, and since 1898 he has been a "recognized" Teacher of the University of London, which has also created him a Member of the Faculties of Arts and Theology. A Member, likewise, of the Board of Studies in Oriental Languages, he has acted as Examiner in the Final Examinations. In 1901, he was invited by the Syndicate of the Cambridge University to examine the Arabic fragments in the Taylor-Schechter collection.

The following is a chronological list of his writings: —

- 1878 Jüdische Elemente im Qorān. Berlin, (Doctor's dissertation, University of Strassburg).
- 1882—87 The articles on "Islām" in *Jahresberichte für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Vol. V—X.
- 1883 Bemerkungen zu Jehuda Ibn Tibbon's Uebersetzung des Buches Al-Chazari. *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* p. 88—100; p. 172—175.
- „ Essai sur l'histoire des Juifs de Médine *Rev. Et. juives* VII, p. 167—193; X, p. 10—31.
- „ Mahdi. *Aus allen Zeiten und Landen*.
- 1884 Timur nach Geschichte und Sage. *ibid.* p. 765—775.
- 1885 Das Buch Al-Chazari aus dem Arabischen des Abul-Hasan Jehuda Hallewi übersetzt, Breslau.
- 1886 Beiträge zur Erklärung des Qorān, Leipzig.
- 1887 Das Buch Al-Khazari des Abul Hassān-Jehūdāh Hallēwi im arabischen Urtext so wie in der hebräischen Uebersetzung des Jehūdāh b. Tibbon herausgegeben, Leipzig.
- „ Die zehnte Makame des Jehuda Al-Charisi, frei übertragen. *Beilage zur "Jüdischen Presse"*.
- „ Die dreissigste Makame des Jehuda Al-Charisi, frei übertragen. *ibid.*
- 1888 Mittelalterliche Berichte von Arabern über die Slaven (Abstract) *Zeitschrift der Historischen Gesellschaft für die Provinz Posen*, November.



- 1891 The Empire of the Khazars according to non-Jewish Authors (Abstract). *Jewish Chronicle* Feb. 27 (p. 15).
- „ Contribution to the Study of the Jewish-Arabic dialect of the Maghreb. *Fourn. Roy. As. Soc.* p. 293—310.
- 1892 Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters, with a Glossary, London.
- „ Prolegomena to an edition of the Divān of Hassan b. Thābit. Transactions, Orient. Congress, London, p. 99—103.
- 1893 “The Spirit of Islām”. J. Q. R. vol. V, p. 212—30.
- „ Jewish Arabic liturgies. J. Q. R., vol. VI, 1893; vol. VII, p. 418—427.
- 1894 Assab’iniyya, a philosophical poem in Arabic by Mūsa b. Tūbi, together with the Hebrew version, &c., by Solomon b. Immanuel Dapiera, edited and translated, London, [Report of Montefiore College].
- „ Die Handschriften des Dr. L. Loewe. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte, etc.*, vol. XXXVIII, p. 360—6; 404—14.
- 1895 Kritische Bemerkungen zu Munks Ausgabe des Dalālat-al-Hāirīn, *ibid.*, vol. XL, p. 404—13; p. 460—73.
- 1896 Remarks on the etymology of Sabbath. J. R. A. S. p. 353—59.
- „ “Das Buch der Definitionen,” des Abū Jakūb Ishāq al Isrāīli, in der hebräischen Uebersetzung des Nissīm b. Solomon herausgegeben (Steinschneider-Jubelschrift), p. 233 (Hebr.) 131—141.
- 1897 Notiz über einen dem Maimūni untergeschobenen arabischen Commentar zu Esther. *Semitic Studies in memory of Rev. Dr. A. Kohut*, p. 248—53.
- „ Historical and legendary Controversies between Mohammed and the Rabbis. J. Q. R., vol. X, p. 100—116.
- „ Biographie von Salomon Plessner herausgegeben von Dr. Elias Plessner.

- 1899 A Hebrew poem in vindication of the study of philosophy. J. Q. R., p. 138—42.
- 1901 Mohammedan Criticism of the Bible. J. Q. R., vol. XIII, p. 222—40.
- 1902 New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qorān, London, ["Asiatic Monographs", Royal Asiatic Society].
- 1903 Einige arabischen Gutachten des Abraham Maimūni. [Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstage A. Berliner's, p. 46—54].
- „ Jewish Conception of the Universe in the Middle Ages. *Jewish Literary Annual* vol. I.
- „ Report on the work in the Arabic fragments of the Cairo Genizah at the University Library Cambridge [Report of Library Syndicate].
- 1904 Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. of the Montefiore Library, London [Reprint from J. Q. R.].
- „ Description of the Hebrew MSS. in Catalogue of the library of F. D. Mocatta, p. 424—30.
- Many articles in the Jewish Encyclopedia, including —  
Almohades; Almoravides; Arabia, Jews of; Arabic Literature of the Jews.
- 1905 Judah Hallevi's Kitāb Al-Khazari translated from the Arabic with an Introduction.
- Thirteen articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* on  
"The Arabic portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge" (in progress).

Dr. HIRSCHFELD's appointment as Sub-Librarian carried with it the advantage that he already possessed a scholarly familiarity with the contents of the Ramsgate Library, and was exceptionally fitted to arrange and take charge of them in their new quarters. It had been collected with exceptional care and ability by the late Dr. LOEWE and the Rev. Dr.

GASTER, the two successive Principals of the Jndith Lady Montefiore College. Thanks to the solicitude of the latter, the best part of the famous library of Zunz was at once acquired for Ramsgate on its being offered for sale by KAUFMANN of Frankfort. This collection was specially rich in books and pamphlets relating to the emancipation of the Jews in Germany. It was well that this literature should find a home in Jews' College, inasmuch as the adjoining library of the late Rev. A. L. GREEN contained an analogous valuable collection of pamphlets bearing on the emancipation of the Jews in England. About 1000 volumes and between 50 and 60 MSS. were retained at Ramsgate. But the remainder of the MSS., now deposited at Jews' College, comprised a magnificent collection of choice treasures, which Dr. HIRSCHFELD proceeded to catalogue and to describe in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. Among other almost invaluable things in this new addition to the College libraries may be mentioned: — manuscript marginal notes to the *editio princeps* of the "Ralbag" on the Pentateuch, a very rare Machzor of the rite of Montpellier, the Machzor of Avignon, an exceedingly fine manuscript of the Hebrew Bible executed on vellum, belonging to the 14th or 15th century, and distinguished by great correctness; as also a number of illuminated manuscripts and various unica. Liturgy and Talmudica were well represented, and there was the entire autograph collection of the works of SAMUEL MORDECAI GHIRONDI. The Targum to the Prophets and Hagiographa, dated 1846, had belonged to S. D. LUZZATTO. In all, the collection now transferred to Jews' College contained 580 MSS., being twice as many as that of the Berlin Library, and more than either of the library collections at Munich and Vienna.

## XVII.

## A UNIQUE INCIDENT.

An incident, as gratifying as it was unique, occurred on Saturday February 6, 1897, when the Honorary Officers of the Central Synagogue entertained members of the Council and Staff of Jews' College, together with its Senior Students and a number of its former Students, as an acknowledgment of the services rendered by the Senior Students of the College as Occasional Preachers in Metropolitan Synagogues". The festivity brought together a representative gathering, presided over by the Senior Warden, Mr. JOSEPH PYKE, and including the Chief Rabbi, Sir PHILIP MAGNUS, Mr. Alderman SAMUEL, the Revs. MICHAEL ADLER, B. A., B. BERLINER, JOHN CHAPMAN, F. L. COHEN, DAVID FAY, H. GOLLANCZ, M. A., A. A. GREEN, ISIDORE HARRIS, M. A., MORRIS JOSEPH, S. LEVY, B. A., I. SAMUEL, S. SINGER, and E. SPERO, Dr. M. FRIEDLÄNDER, Dr. S. HIRSCH, and Messrs. MANUEL CASTELLO, ALFRED L. COHEN, LEONARD L. COHEN, A. FELDMAN, B. A., ELLIS A. FRANKLIN, D. I. FREEDMAN, B. A., W. KILNER, JOSHUA M. LEVY, B. N. MICHELSON, B. A., ASHER I. MYERS, P. ORNSTIEN, LIONEL E. PYKE, Q. C., CHARLES SAMUEL, JAMES H. SOLOMON, and LEWIS SOLOMON. The many eloquent speeches delivered were worthy of the occasion. But the most impressive feature connected with the function was the special sermon preached by Mr. SINGER at the preliminary Sabbath Morning Service held in the Synagogue. With his accustomed force and skill, Mr. SINGER spoke on the Relations of the Clergy to the Laity. The discourse is too long to reproduce in full, but quotation may be made of its opening paragraph, in which the



preacher gave a graphic sketch of some of the purposes which Jews' College had subserved: —

It is somewhat over 40 years ago that a band of devout and far-seeing men, taking note of the material and intellectual growth of the community, thought it well to make provision for the religious needs of coming generations, and established Jews' College as a training college for Jewish ministers and teachers. Among them, or shortly to join their ranks, were — to recall only a few names, and those of men already gathered to their fathers — the late revered Chief Rabbi, who watched over the Institution and its students with a solicitude truly paternal, Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, GEORGE JESSEL, JACOB FRANKLIN, BARNETT MEYERS, JOSHUA ALEXANDER, HENRY SOLOMON, MICHAEL HENRY, Dr. LOEWE, the first Principal of the College, BARNETT ABRAHAMS, his successor in this office, a man of rare gifts of mind and heart whose untimely death left Judaism distinctly poorer, and AARON LEVY GREEN, a name never to be remembered in this holy place without the double tribute of our sorrow and our veneration. Before that time the clergy were either trained abroad and drawn direct from foreign lands, or they consisted of men who, as in certain notable instances, by strenuous self-education fitted themselves for the offices they filled, or, as in other and, I fear, more frequent cases, filled offices for which they never were, and never could be, fitted. Since the establishment of Jews' College a gradual change has been brought about in the *personnel* of the Jewish ministry; a larger number of the regularly-appointed clergy, whether in the metropolis, the provinces, or the colonies, have been supplied from Jews' College than from any other source. They are to be met with in almost all English-speaking lands, and among diverse schools of religious thought. The Institution, though not very widely supported, has had some staunch and generous friends, as well as zealous and distinguished teachers, through whose devotion, sustained to this very hour, it has been enabled uninterruptedly to carry on its holy work. There are signs that its efforts are growing in public appreciation, and the present occasion on which, by the courteous consideration of the authorities of this Synagogue, so many representatives of the clergy and laity have been invited here, is designed in recognition of the usefulness of the work done by Jews' College.

## XVIII.

### ENLARGED SUPPORT AND COMMENSURATE RESULTS.

Apart from its union with Montefiore College, the history of Jews' College during the last few years of its occupancy of Tavistock House presents several facts of interest and



importance. The Council of the United Synagogue happily reverted, in 1896, to its original grant of £200 a year to the funds of the College. The reference of the Executive Committee to the Council on which this action was based was to this effect: —

The position of Jews College formed the subject of important reports to the Council in 1877-8, when it was decided to contribute a sum of £200 a year to the funds of the Institution. This contribution was commenced in 1879, and continued to the year 1887, when it was reduced to £100. It is now sought to have the amount of the contribution of £200 per annum reinstated, and the council are reminded that this sum was originally fixed upon by a Special Committee after careful and deliberate consideration of the circumstances and claims of Jews' College. Without entering fully into the merits of the case, it may be stated that it is to the interest not only of the United Synagogue, but of the whole community of English-speaking Jews, that Jews' College should be properly and adequately maintained. It is urged that many capable and earnest men have been trained within its walls, that these men are doing good suit and service to the community, and that it is the duty of the United Synagogue to assist the Jews' College at a time, like the present, when it is in sore need of financial help.

In the same year, the West London Synagogue of British Jews resumed the grant of £50 which it had made on a former occasion, in 1887, but had not since repeated.

At the end of 1896 the Rev. Dr. ALBERT LÖWY celebrated his 80th birthday. To mark the occasion his family established a biennial prize of £10, "to be awarded to the most meritorious student of Semitic languages, and to be called the ALBERT LÖWY Prize".

Yet another gift has to be recorded about this time. Mr. F. D. MOCATTA presented to the College the historic picture by SOLOMON HART, R.A.: "MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL before OLIVER CROMWELL", which had belonged to the late Sir JULIAN GOLDSMID. There being no Mocatta Museum in those days, the Council, in accepting the gift, might well express their feeling "that no more appropriate resting-place for this unique picture could be found than the walls of the

College", and indulge the hope "that Mr. MOCATTA's generous example may be imitated by other friends of the College interested in the preservation of objects of artistic and literary interest to the Anglo-Jewish community".

In 1898 the College received an additional scholarship, of the value of about £15 per annum. It was endowed by the will of the late MICHAEL SAMUEL (a brother of CHARLES SAMUEL), who died in 1891, and bequeathed £500 to the College, payable on the death of his widow. This was followed in the next year by the foundation of the JACOB A. FRANKLIN Scholarship, of the value of £30 a year. It was established by the Trustees of the JACOB A. FRANKLIN Fund. And Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL, Mr. CLAUDE MONTEFIORE, and Mr. DAVID DAVIS, of Blackheath (the original promotor of the College Endowment Fund), were, at the same time, giving constant additional proofs of their generous interest in the welfare of the College.

One more benefaction remains to be noticed here. In the spring of 1897 Mr. HERBERT BENTWICH (who became Honorary Solicitor of the College in 1898) organized a Pilgrimage to Palestine. Mr. DENNIS E. SAMUEL offered the College £50 to defray the expenses of a student to join the Pilgrimage, and Mr. A. FELDMAN, B. A., was the promising Collegian selected by the Council to receive Mr. SAMUEL's benefit.

Meanwhile, in the progress of its *alumni*, their academical distinctions, and their ministerial appointments and usefulness, the College was producing results commensurate in every respect with the enlarged support which it was receiving. The Rev. S. LEVY, B. A. and Mr. A. FELDMAN, B. A., had become the first "Fellows" of Jews' College, in 1896. A couple of years later, the Rev. M. HYAMSON, B. A., L. L. B., and Mr. FELDMAN received the Rabbinical

Diploma from the Chief Rabbi — a notable distinction which fitted them for the high position they were subsequently called to fill. At University College, Jews' College men were obtaining more than their full share of certificates and prizes, and among others, Mr. A. WOLF was gaining honours in Philosophy which proved an earnest of the brilliant academic career that awaited him in the near future. Having become a Fellow of Jews' College (with Mr. B. N. MICHELSON, B. A.) in 1899, and an M. A. of the University of London, Mr. WOLF received one of the Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE Studentships to enable him to proceed to the University of Cambridge, and there to continue his studies in Mental and Moral Philosophy.

These Studentships — two in number — were awarded out of the annual subvention received from the Judith Lady Montefiore College, and while they enabled students to complete their studies at other Universities, they were also instrumental in attracting students *from* other Universities. One of the first-fruits of the Montefiore endowment was a Studentship awarded to Mr. M. SIMON, B. A., Scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, who, having taken a brilliant degree, entered Jews' College to train for the Ministry.

And past students of the College were also distinguishing themselves in various ways. In the Report for 1899, the Council hear "with special pleasure of the success of the Rev. HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M. A., in gaining the distinguished degree of 'Doctor of Literature' of the University of London. He is the first Alumnus of the College, and the first Jewish graduate of the University to whom has been awarded this high academical distinction, and the Council offer to him their warmest congratulations upon its achievement".

A large number of *alumni* were being appointed about this time to ministerial posts. In 1895, the Rev. S. LEVY, B. A., became Minister of the New Synagogue, Great St. Helen's, and Mr. J. ABELSON, B.A., and Mr. Z. LAWRENCE were elected Ministers at Cardiff and Newport respectively; the Rev. D. WASSERZUG, B. A., having been translated from Cardiff to Port Elizabeth. In the following year, Mr. D. I. FREEDMAN, B. A., was selected Minister of the rising Congregation of Perth, Western Australia. In 1897, Mr. GERALD FRIEDLANDER became Minister of the Western Synagogue, St. Alban's Place; and in 1898 Mr. G. LIPKIND, B.A., went as Assistant Minister to the Brighton Congregation, and Mr. W. LEVIN was elected Minister of the North West London Synagogue. The Report for the following year reports the appointment of the Rev. A. FELDMAN, B.A., to the post of Minister of the New Dalston Congregation, of the Rev. B. N. MICHELSON, B. A., to the Ministry of the Newport Congregation, and of the Rev. M. I. COHEN, B. A. to that of the Bulawayo Congregation. In the same year Mr. A. WOLF, M. A., (now Minister of the Manchester Congregation of British Jews) was nominated to the position of Lecturer on Philosophy at University College, London.

It was in the year 1898 that the Council took an important step in the interests of the United Synagogue and the community. It proposed a scheme by which facilities should be granted to students who were Fellows of Jews' College to engage in communal East End work. The work was to comprise the visitation of the poor, attendance at meetings of the Overseers of the United Synagogue, the delivery of sermons in the East End of London, attendance at sittings of the Beth Din, acting as managers of Board Schools and Religion Classes, and assisting in the work of supervising Boys' Clubs, and similar organizations. The proposal was ac-



cepted with modifications by the United Synagogue, and led to the employment of Jews' College "Fellows" who had not yet obtained definite ministerial appointments in East End ministerial work.

For some time previous to this the growing complexity of the various theological and secular examinations which the students of the College were required to undergo had rendered necessary an enquiry into the general scheme of education imparted at Tavistock House and University College. A strong Sub-Committee was formed, under the chairmanship of Sir PHILIP MAGNUS, to consider the entire question. The Committee made various recommendations to the Council, which were adopted, chief among which was the appointment of a new official, to be styled the "Senior Tutor", who was to superintend the secular studies of the students. Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M. A., was, in 1899, appointed to this post. Since 1893 Mr. ABRAHAMS had taught Homiletics, in succession to the Rev. MORRIS JOSEPH, and he continued to act in this capacity until his retirement from the teaching staff, in 1903.

## XIX.

### THE QUESTION OF REMOVAL.

In March, 1895, the question of removing the College from Tavistock House was first brought before the Council. The position of Honorary Architect was now held by Mr. DELISSA JOSEPH, a member of the Council and a former pupil of the College School. He succeeded Mr. LEWIS SOLOMON, who had taken over the office of Honorary Architect from its first holder, Mr. NATHAN S. JOSEPH. Mr. DELISSA JOSEPH called the Council's attention to the unsatisfactory condition



of the building, and moved and carried a resolution to the effect: —

That in view of the fact that the lease of Tavistock House will expire at Michaelmas 1897, it be referred to a Special Committee to consider and report to the Council: —

(a) As to the present condition of the structure, and as to the liability for the repairs at the end of the two years and a half.

(b) As to the desirability of at once undertaking the repairs so that the Principal and Students may have the enjoyment and comfort of them during the remainder of the term.

(c) As to the provision of accommodation at the expiration of the lease.

The Special Committee, afterwards denominated the "Building Sub-Committee", consisted of the President, the Treasurers, the Hon. Secretary, the Hon. Architect, Mr. ASHER I. MYERS, and Mr. L. L. ALEXANDER; Mr. M. N. ADLER being subsequently added to their number. Having ascertained that Tavistock House would probably be demolished at the expiration of the lease, the Committee recommended that the building should merely be put into temporary repair, and that steps should be taken to acquire other premises when Tavistock House was no longer available. The question whether Jews' College should then remain in London or be transferred to Oxford or Cambridge was carefully debated, with the result that the Committee recommended its retention in London, "in the vicinity of University College". The Committee favoured "the idea of a comprehensive building scheme with moderate and suitable provision for residence for such Students as would desire to avail themselves of it". At the same time, Mr. DELISSA JOSEPH was asked to obtain particulars of suitable buildings in the West Central district, or available sites for building.

And now ensued a period of no little anxiety for the Building Committee and the Hon. Architect in their search for suitable premises and their endeavour to keep Tavistock

House in tenantable repair until such time as they should be ready to vacate it. The proposal to build had soon to be abandoned, and though the problem was thus simplified it was still beset with difficulties. An offer to purchase some premises in Gower Street, in close proximity to University College, was declined. Meanwhile the Committee had taken the wise precaution of obtaining from the Duke of Bedford an extension of the lease of Tavistock House, and thus the danger which at one time threatened the College of being houseless was averted.

Beyond this, little progress appears to have been made until April 1897, when it became known that the Jewish High School for Girls, in Chenies Street, was to be discontinued. It was suggested to the Council that these premises might be available for the College. They were duly examined and found suitable, and to enable the College to acquire them Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL generously proposed to purchase the leasehold for a sum of £4,100, besides bearing the expense of investigation and transfer. Mr. SAMUEL had been led to believe that this sum would be accepted, but a higher bidder came forward who ultimately offered an amount of more than £5000, which "Mr. SAMUEL was advised was in excess of its value". So the negotiations failed; but the College, so far from losing, derived an unexpected benefit from its disappointment, for Mr. SAMUEL, realizing the difficulty of obtaining premises, now decided (June 1898) to present the institution with £5000, to be invested for the purchase of any suitable building that might hereafter be available. The grateful sentiments with which the Council received this benefaction found expression in the following resolution: —

That this Council have heard with feelings of profound gratitude that Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL has made to the Institution the munificent gift of

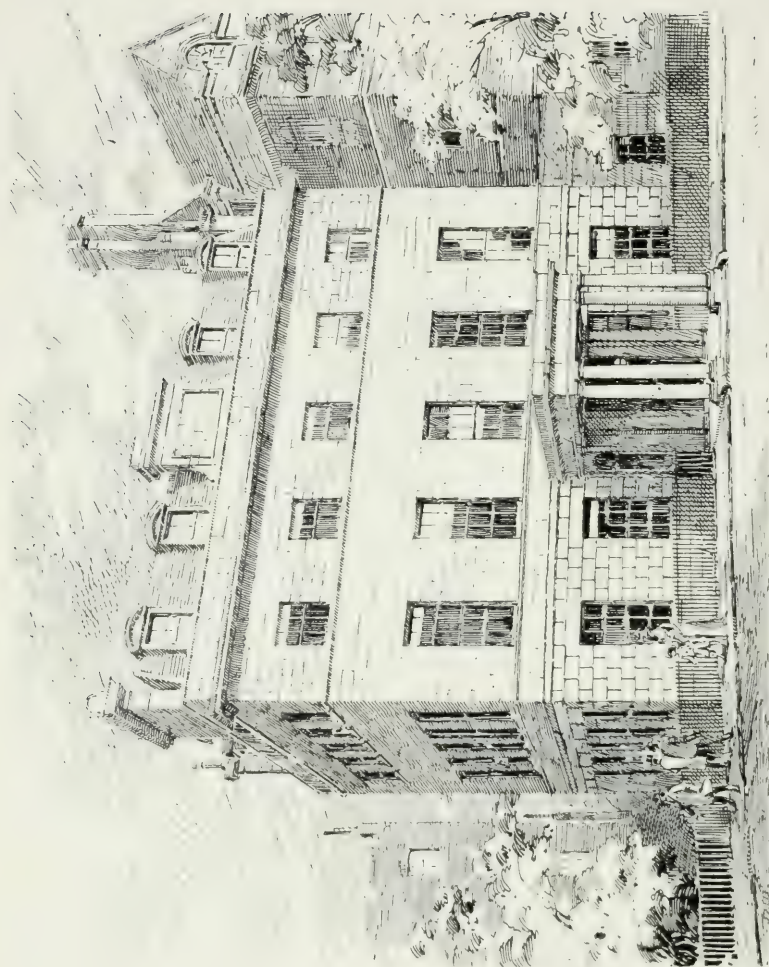
£5000 for the purpose of obtaining new premises for the work of the Institution.

The Council are mindful that this is but one of a long series of generous acts for which the Institution is indebted to the bountiful generosity of Mr. SAMUEL, who has been its devoted friend and supporter, and its help in the hour of need, ever since he became associated with the work of the College.

The quest for a College-house had to be begun anew; but, provided as they now were with the sinews of war, the Building Committee could face the future with confidence. Sooner or later something suitable would present itself, and this happened even earlier than could have been expected. Within the next few weeks Mr. ASHER MYERS learnt that the premises of the Presbyterian College in Guilford Street and Queen Square were about to be disposed of in consequence of the impending removal of that institution to Cambridge. Here was the ideal habitation for which the Building Committee had been searching, and they lost no time in securing the option of it. Eventually the premises were acquired on a 50 years' lease from Michaelmas 1899, at a cost of £4,000 and a ground rent of £150, the Council undertaking to expend a minimum sum of £500 on improvements and repairs. It now only remained for the College to obtain a further extension from the Duke of Bedford of the tenancy of Tavistock House to March 25, 1900, by which time Queen Square House would be ready for occupation; and this concession was readily granted.

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QUEEN SQUARE HOUSE

*From an Etching lent by Mr. Delissa Joseph.*



### PART III.

## THE COLLEGE IN QUEEN SQUARE.

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### I.

#### QUEEN SQUARE HOUSE.

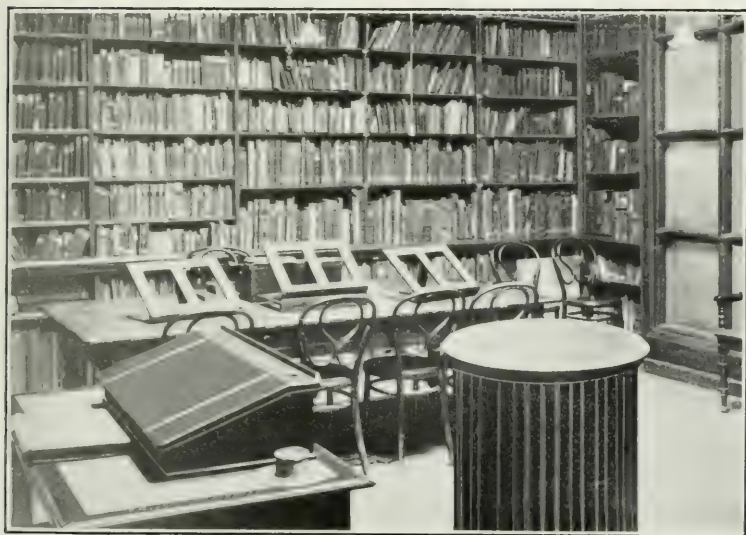
If Tavistock House was rich in literary and historical memories, these were not to be compared to those which clustered around Queen Square House. Built in the reign of Queen Anne, at a time when Queen Square enjoyed an uninterrupted view of the heights of Hampstead and Highgate, and standing in one of the centres of eighteenth-century fashion, the house was the abode and resort of many a by-gone celebrity. At one time, as we learn from the scholarly researches of Mr. A. HENRIQUES VALENTINE, himself a former student of Jews' College, it was the abode of "Dr. JOHN CAMPBELL, the gentle and accomplished biographer and historian, who collected the wits, the beaux, the writers, the artists and the scientists round him in Queen Square, in the same way, and the same time, as Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS was doing in Leicester Square". Foremost among those who were in the habit of assembling here was the great lexicographer, Dr. JOHNSON, who, as his faithful BOSWELL tells us, used to go pretty often to CAMPBELL's on a Sunday evening. Thus,

more than 125 years ago, did the hospitable author of "The Lives of the Admirals" set the example of those literary and social Sunday evening gatherings with which, in our own day, the traditions of Queen Square House have been worthily sustained. For a time, no less a personage than GEORGE III lived here, in the care of his physician, occupying a room on the left hand side of the hall overlooking Guilford Street. The next person of note to inhabit Queen Square House was Chief Baron POLLOCK, and his immediate successors were the trustees of the Presbyterian College, by whom it was occupied for a period of nearly thirty years.

This was the building which had now to be adapted to its new use as a Jewish Theological College, from the plans prepared for the Building Committee by Mr. DELISSA JOSEPH. A sum of £1600 was expended in the necessary alterations and repairs. On the ground floor were arranged the Principal's residence and the A. L. Green Library. The large Lecture Hall, on the first floor, was provided with a sliding partition, to adapt it to gatherings of various sizes. Adjoining this was a Students' Class Room and the Senior Tutor's Room. On the second floor were the other Class Rooms and the Masters' and Students' "Common Rooms", and above that the Science Laboratory, which Mr. CLAUDE MONTEFIORE was equipping as a "moving-in" present to the College — an example of generosity which other friends of the institution — Mr. ALFRED L. COHEN, Mr. JAMES H. SOLOMON, Mr. HERBERT BENTWICH, Mr. LIONEL L. ALEXANDER, Mr. HARRY R. RICHARDSON, Mr. D. GESTETNER, and Mr. CHARLES MONTAGU — were not slow to follow. Not the least useful of these gifts was the apparatus for indoor and outdoor physical exercise provided by Messrs. SOLOMON and ALEXANDER, a portion of the basement



LECTURE HALL—VIEW OF THE DAIS



THE A. L. GREEN MEMORIAL LIBRARY



having been converted into a gymnasium, while the ground in Queen Square fronting the College was laid out as a tennis-court.

The removal of the libraries from Tavistock Square to Queen Square, the furnishing of the new rooms, and the countless matters of detail to be settled in connection with the change of habitation involved a considerable amount of labour, which was cheerfully undertaken by Mr. ASHER I. MYERS, Chairman of the Library Committee, and the member of the Council and of the Building Committee whose keen attention to the affairs of the College had led to the discovery of Queen Square House. The Council's appreciation of Mr. MYERS' services was embodied in the following Resolution: —

Resolved that the warmest thanks of the Council be tendered to Mr. MYERS for the extraordinary amount of devoted attention which he has given to the removal to the present premises from the time of the earliest negotiations until the day of inauguration.

It now only remained to make arrangements for the formal opening of the new premises. It was resolved that this should take place on the same day as the prize distribution — May 6, 1900. And the gentleman to whom the honour naturally fell of presiding on the memorable occasion was Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL.

## II.

### THE INAUGURAL CEREMONY.

Never has Jews' College witnessed a more imposing function than that which marked the formal inauguration of Queen Square House as its new abode, on Sunday afternoon, May 6, 1900. The great Lecture Hall, one of the finest of its kind, was thrown open to its fullest extent and crowded



rise to the standard of University teaching. And in this consummation so devoutly to be wished for, I am certain that we shall meet with the heart-whole cooperation of our veteran Principal, of the newly-appointed Senior Tutor, and of the members of the teaching Staff. But especially and pre-eminently we need the single-minded devotion, the whole-hearted earnestness, of our pupils and students. I fully admit that the work demanded of you, my friends, is severe. Both here and at University College you have to be disciplined in the exercise of exact thought; you have to acquire the art of fixing attention; you have to be trained in the power of concentration, of order, and arrangement. Now and again in the quest of knowledge you have to traverse dull and seemingly barren stretches of road. But nothing is more requisite to ensure genuine success in life than such patient, plodding drudgery. If you refuse thus to apply your mind, if you grow impatient, you had better at once relinquish the idea of entering the ministry. *Aut disce, aut discede*. "Either learn or depart". This must henceforth become the rule that regulates every department of the College. Do not be satisfied with mediocrity. We want you to emerge from these walls scholars, not smatterers, not inflated with foolish conceit, that sure sign of mental poverty, but, as it behoves learners throughout life, filled with a spirit of true modesty, genuine courtesy, and gentle bearing, ever mindful of the wise saying, "Manner makyth man". But to constitute a minister it is not sufficient to be a scholar and a gentleman, however important these requisites are. You must be inspired with a high enthusiasm for your calling, and feel that it is the noblest and most congenial vocation you could embrace. And, indeed, what career can be grander and more glorious than to become fellow-workers with God in securing the immortality of Judaism, to spend yourselves in training souls for heaven, in holding out a brother's strong hand to guide and support the frail and erring, in strengthening with the force of your earnestness and the sympathy of your experience the strivers after a true and virtuous life? The question is sometimes asked, Who are the most dangerous foes of Judaism? The answer is readily given: Why, of course, anti-Semites. No, they are not our worst enemies. Bad Jews! Here we come nearer the truth. But the worst enemies, undoubtedly, are bad ministers, who have no real love for their calling, who enter upon it from low and unworthy motives, for the stipend they may earn and the living they obtain, who, in the trenchant words of Scripture, "Crouch for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread, saying, Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priests' offices that I may eat a piece of bread". From such unworthy clerics may Heaven deliver us! One of the chief functions of your ministration will be that of preaching. Some aid and stimulus for the due performance of this duty you will receive within these lecture rooms. But neither the highest ability in the writing of essays, nor the most perfect elocution, will qualify you as preachers. You have heard of the young artist who begged JOSHUA REYNOLDS to tell him how he mixed his colours. "With brains", was the reply. For your pulpit deliverances brains and hearts are required. If you would win souls for God, if you desire to enkindle in

the hearts of your hearers a more devoted loyalty to their faith, a striving for things noble, manly and true, the sacred fire must burn in your own souls, your hearts must be aglow with enthusiasm. It is the preacher to whom people listen, not his discourses. They will read *you*, not your sermons. Men may admire cleverness, they are only moved by sincere piety. They praise eloquence; they are induced to act by sympathy. If, as a writer quaintly puts it, you preach cream and live skim milk, your ministry will prove a dead failure. Only if the priest be a messenger of the Lord of Hosts will they seek the Law at his mouth. One word in conclusion. Ordinarily at these ceremonials an appeal is made for contributions. Although even the signal generosity of our Chairman, the munificence of the Trustees of the Judith, Lady Montefiore Endowment, and the welcome aid of the United Synagogue have not entirely dispelled all pecuniary anxieties, yet it is not for monetary aid that I would plead this day. I ask not for funds, but for lives. I would ask you, Fathers and Mothers of Israel, to recognize that there is no higher, no nobler vocation to which your sons can dedicate themselves than to become teachers of religion, none which offers richer opportunities for usefulness, none in which the cause of Judaism can be more zealously served. And although the chances of preferment be but small, though neither prebendal stalls nor episcopal sees await the young aspirants for the ministry, yet no one who has embraced this calling from pure motives has ever regretted his choice. He will never be doomed to lament: "I have laboured in vain, and spent my strength for nought. For his work is with his God, and his reward with the Lord".

In conjunction with this address must be reproduced the speech of CHARLES SAMUEL, the hero of the day, whose simple words the importance of the occasion and the circumstances in which he was invited to take the chair combined to invest with a profound interest. Mr. SAMUEL spoke as follows: —

Ladies and Gentlemen, — When I was invited by the President and Council of Jews' College to take the chair at the public ceremony for the opening of these new premises, I felt at first an intense reluctance to yield to their flattering request. Speech-making has not been greatly in my line. Perhaps I have been all the more appreciated on that account. I did not wish to do anything to forfeit the kindly feeling which so many of my friends here assembled are pleased to entertain towards me. But I was so persistently assured by those whose advice I value that if I did not occupy this place on the present occasion there would be something defective about to-day's proceedings, that I felt I ought not simply to consult my own tastes and likings in such a matter. If the choice really lay between a de-

fective start in the inauguration of Queen Square House and a defective speech on my part, I could not hesitate long. For, ladies and gentlemen, I confess I love Jews' College, and what will one not do for a cause one really loves? Now my interest in this institution is not of yesterday. Ever since I have given any thought to questions affecting the welfare of our community, I have been on the side of those who believe that nothing will so much tend to the preservation and spread of a Judaism, at once sound and enlightened, among ourselves, and nothing will so greatly contribute to raise the Jewish people in the esteem of their neighbours as a zealous and cultured clergy, a clergy who deserve the confidence of their community and are capable of inspiring others with high and noble ideals. Of course, something more is needed to achieve such a result than merely wishing for it. To build up a good Jewish clergyman is a long and costly process. He himself must bring a certain amount of natural aptitude, much industry, and a great love for his calling — the most sacred of all pursuits — but he requires, in addition, many years of varied and arduous training, and during all these years he must be supported in a respectable fashion, and the cost of this it is only fair that the community should chiefly bear, especially as most of the candidates for the ministry are not in a position to do so themselves. For my part, I regard it as one of the greatest privileges of my life to have been blessed with the means of rendering some little help to the great and sacred cause which this institution represents. The history of Jews' College is closely bound up with the history of the Anglo-Jewish community. The original suggestion of a plan for establishing a Training College for Jewish Ministers and Teachers emanated from the late Chief Rabbi, Dr. NATHAN MARCUS ADLER. Ever since his entry upon the Rabbinate the idea had occupied his mind. It began to shape itself at a public meeting in Old Sussex Hall, convened by the Chief Rabbi, and presided over by Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, in 1852. Men like Mr. (afterwards Sir GEORGE) JESSEL, the Rev. AARON LEVY GREEN, who from the first rendered most valuable help as Honorary Secretary, M. H. PICCIOTTO, JOSHUA ALEXANDER, JOSEPH ZEDNER, JACOB FRANKLIN, SAMPSON LUCAS, HENRY SOLOMON, SAMPSON SAMUEL, A. H. HART, and others, backed it up by their eloquence and influence, some of them with an enthusiasm which never dwindled to the end of their days. However, it was not till 1856 that matters were sufficiently advanced to justify the opening of Jews' College and Jews' College School in Finsbury Square. Difficulties had to be encountered upon which I will not dilate, and I pass to the time when the School as distinguished from the College was, I think very wisely, given up, and the local of Jews' College transferred from Finsbury Square to Tavistock House, a more desirable situation, being close to University College. But I must not forget to recall such names as BARNETT MEYERS, HENRY KEELING, MICHAEL HENRY, LEWIS EMANUEL, Sir BARROW ELLIS — to mention only a few names, and those of men who have passed away from the scene of their labours, and to whom with the rest we ought to give to-day the tribute of



our grateful remembrance. I would like to express our obligation to the many friends who fortunately are still with us. My strength and your time do not permit me to go through the list. My brief survey, however, would not only be incomplete, it would be unjust, if I did not refer to our honoured President, the Chief Rabbi, to whom I know this College is as dear as it ever was to his father, and who has shown such an untiring and high-minded zeal in watching over the interests of the institution. Then there are the respected representatives of the ancient Sephardi community, Sir EDWARD SASSOON, Sir JOSEPH SEBAG MONTEFIORE, Mr. JOSHUA LEVY and others, as well as those of the West London Synagogue, Sir PHILIP MAGNUS and Mr. CLAUDE MONTEFIORE, one of the staunchest supporters of the College — to all of whom we are heavily indebted. The Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN, a former student of the College, has put us under great obligations by his services as Honorary Secretary. And there is one other gentleman I cannot be silent about, but for whom, in all human probability, we should not be where we are to-day. When two or three years ago we received notice to quit Tavistock House, we knew not where to turn for a habitation. Our choice of a home was restricted by the necessity of being near University College. Then it was that Mr. ASHER MYERS scoured the whole district, and while the rest of us were beginning to despair, his keen eyes and indomitable perseverance succeeded in discovering these most convenient premises, which he has since then also laboured to render as perfect as possible for the object for which they are intended. Of these premises, the class rooms, the common rooms, the masters' rooms, the libraries, the opportunities for physical exercise and recreation, and so forth, I will say nothing. You can, ladies and gentlemen, inspect all these things for yourselves, and most welcome you are to do so. As to the officers of the College, the Principal and the members of the staff, no words of mine can sufficiently express what the Council owe to them. Since its establishment the Institution has been under the direction of three heads successively, Dr. L. LOEWE, who was appointed the first Head Master; the Rev. BARNETT ABRAHAMS, Dayan of the Sephardi congregation, whose lamented death at the age of thirty-three was a calamity to Anglo-Judaism, and whose scholarly son, himself trained at the College, has recently been appointed to the responsible post of Senior Tutor; the present Principal, our dear and honoured friend, Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER. He is now in the 37th year of his office, and has grown not grey but white in the service of the Council. I am but expressing the sentiments of all here present, and of multitudes elsewhere, when I say that Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER, by his many years of faithful and devoted labours, has earned the gratitude not only of the Council and supporters of the institution, and of many generations of students, but of the entire community, who are reaping and will continue to reap the main benefits of his teachings and example. To my mind the most gratifying feature of this institution is that, by training ministers and teachers of all sections of the community, it helps in a manner to unite all sections. From its very inception there was a cordial understanding and co-operation

between the German and Portuguese branches of Anglo-Jewry. I read, for instance, with great interest the other day, in the original minutes of Jews' College, under date 31st October 1852, a resolution that the Hebrew instruction was to be adapted to the practice as well of the Spanish and Portuguese as of the German Congregations. That good understanding has been cemented since by the splendid public spirit of the ancient community of Sephardim. The use to which year by year they put a considerable part of Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE's great legacy is most materially helping the cause we have all unitedly at heart. Similarly we are indebted to the United Synagogue and to the West London Synagogue of British Jews, to Messrs. ROTHSCHILD and others for substantial annual contributions. But beyond mere financial considerations, I would place the weight and wisdom, the breadth and comprehensiveness of view, which the honoured representatives of the various bodies lend to the deliberations of the Council. We hear a great deal in these days about the Federation of the Empire. Now the Jews of the Empire are a respectable fraction of the general population, and in providing the Colonies with ministers trained at this College, as from the Report just issued you will find we do, do you not think we may be said in our humble way to promote the union of the Empire? Indeed we are happy to have been of service to the English-speaking communities outside the Empire, for there are several congregations in the United States where former students of the College are ministering with marked success. I have already to be grateful to Providence that I am permitted to witness this day the realization of a hope I have long cherished. Yet I confess I have another wish at heart, and that is that I may be spared to see all the means and forces available among us for the training of Jewish ministers concentrated in a single organization, so that the best results may be produced for the community at large with the least amount of waste in any direction. Jews' College and Judith Lady Montefiore College are one in work and will. Add to them Aria College, and you have "the threefold cord that shall not quickly be broken". This is what I ardently long for. But it is my duty to tell you, in case you should not have noticed it, that I am getting on in years, and if I am to behold this most desirable union, then I must warn you that there is no time to be lost. But, ladies and gentlemen, whatever others choose to do or leave undone, while I have life my interest in Jews' College will not slacken. I believe it is doing a great, a vital, an absolutely indispensable work. I believe also it is capable of immense development, and destined to become a mighty instrument for the uplifting of the whole community. We have joined in prayer that God's blessing may rest upon our undertaking. Let me appeal to all to whom the Jewish faith and the Jewish name are dear, to our brethren here and elsewhere, to the Council, to the Staff, to the students, old and young, to do what in their power lies to deserve the blessing for which it is surely our duty to labour as well as to pray.







CHARLES SAMUEL

One other memorable feature of this function remains to be noticed. A congratulatory letter to the Chief Rabbi from M. ZADOC KAHN, Grand Rabbin of France, was read. The Grand Rabbin wrote: —

Paris, le 11<sup>ier</sup> Mai, 1900

17 Rue St. Georges

Cher Monsieur et Honoré Collègue,

Notre ami Monsieur ALFRED L. COHEN a bien voulu m'informer que dimanche prochain 6 Mai aura lieu à Londres l'inauguration solennelle du nouveau local du Jews' College. Je tiens à m'associer de loin à cette belle fête qui marquera une date importante dans l'histoire du judaïsme anglais, et à vous exprimer les sincères souhaits que je forme pour la prospérité de votre grande école d'études sacrées, de science rabbinique. Le "Jews' College" a déjà derrière lui un passé des plus honorables puisqu'il peut revendiquer comme siens la plupart des Ministres de Dieu qui honorent la chaire israélite en Angleterre et contribuent, pour leur part, aux progrès de la science juive. Grâce à votre puissante impulsion, et sous la direction de l'homme éminent que vous avez la bonne fortune de voir à sa tête, il va entrer à présent dans une nouvelle et brillante phase de son existence, mériter de plus en plus les sympathies nombreuses qui l'entourent, et justifier toutes les espérances qu'il inspire au judaïsme anglais. Que Dieu accorde ses meilleurs bénédictions à votre grande école juive et à tous ceux qui s'intéressent à ses destinées!

Veuillez agréer, cher Monsieur et honoré Collègue, l'assurance de ma confraternelle sympathie et de mes sentiments très dévoués.

ZADOC KAHN, Grand Rabbin.

Monsieur le Dr. H. ADLER

Grand Rabbin de l'Empire Britannique, à Londres.

In the following year a brass was set up in the Entrance Hall, which duly recorded Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL's benefaction to the institution. The inscription thereon ran:

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THIRTY YEARS'  
DEVOTED SERVICE AND GENEROUS SUPPORT  
RENDERED TO JEWS' COLLEGE BY

MR. CHARLES SAMUEL,

TREASURER, AND OF HIS SPLENDID GIFT OF  
THIS BUILDING, THIS TABLET WAS ERECTED  
BY HIS COLLEAGUES ON THE COUNCIL, APRIL  
21ST 1901—1901.

munity had to deplore the untimely death of LIONEL LINDO ALEXANDER, one of the most energetic communal workers of recent times, who took up nothing into which he did not throw himself with whole-hearted enthusiasm. Not Jews' College only, but the Jewish Working Mens' Club, the Jewish Board of Guardians, of which for ten years he was Honorary Secretary, the Home and Hospital for Jewish Incurables, the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum, the Jewish Religious Education Board, and many another body were served by his rare abilities, his untiring efforts. For some months before his death it was known that he had been stricken with a mortal disease, but almost to the last he preserved his interest in the affairs of the community unimpaired. At the Council Meeting held on the 13th February, 1901, the Chief Rabbi moved the following Resolution: —

That the Council give expression to their profound regret at the loss sustained by Jews' College and the community at large by the demise of LIONEL LINDO ALEXANDER, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Institution; that they record with warm gratitude the conspicuous service rendered by him in the conduct on behalf of the College of negotiations, requiring the utmost tact and delicacy, with the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, negotiations which resulted in that body annually voting a munificent subvention to the funds of the College.

They also acknowledge with deep gratitude the fact that Mr. ALEXANDER has been a member of the Council for a quarter of a century, and that he has during that time afforded them the benefit of his valuable experience and keen willingness; and they desire to tender to the members of his family the expression of their heartfelt condolence and sincere sympathy, and their fervent prayer that our Heavenly Father may send them His solace in their affliction.

At the election of Honorary Officers which took place at the ensuing general meeting, the position in the Council left vacant by Mr. ALEXANDER's death was filled by the election of his brother, Mr. DAVID L. ALEXANDER, K. C.

A few weeks before the death of LIONEL ALEXANDER,

had occurred that of ABRAHAM MOCATTA, one of the original representatives of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue on the Council of Jews' College at the time of the union of the Institution with Montefiore College.

## IV.

THE QUESTION OF AFFILIATION TO LONDON UNIVERSITY  
AND THE RABBINICAL DIPLOMA.

In the course of 1900 the University of London was reconstituted. It became a teaching as well as an examining body, with a large number of constituent Colleges and an additional number of faculties. The new faculty of Theology led to the admission of a number of Theological Colleges as constituents of the new University. The Council of Jews' College were now asked to consider the desirability of its applying to be incorporated in the University as a College for the study of Theology.

A Sub-Committee, consisting of the President, Sir PHILIP MAGNUS, Mr. CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE, Dr. EICHHOLZ, Mr. HERBERT BENTWICH, Mr. ISRAEL GOLLANCZ, the Principal and the Senior Tutor, was accordingly appointed to consider whether, and under what conditions, Jews' College should apply for admission as a School of the University of London. The Committee having reported in favour of affiliation, application to the University was in due course made. In consequence, however, of the unwillingness of the University to make such modifications in the Theological curriculum as would enable Jewish students to present themselves for the Divinity examinations, the project had to be abandoned for the time being. Application was now made to be affiliated to the University as a School of Semitic Languages. This application was only so far acceded



- (4) The Scheme and Subjects of Examination shall be as follows: —

I. TALMUD.

Candidates must be able, after a preparation lasting not more than two hours, to expound a סוגיא in any one of the following Masechtoth: — גמין, וחולין — with the Commentaries of Rashi and Tosafoth.

II. SHULCHAN ARUCH.

Candidates must pass (a) a *vivâ voce* and (b) a written Examination,

(a) *Vivâ Voce*;

Solution of שאלות in

אורח חיים יורה דעה, אבן העזר (ה' אישות

ה' קדושין ה' גמין וחליצה) חושן משפט (דיני פסולי העדות)

(b) *In writing*;

Not less than ten searching questions (שאלות ותשובות) in the above to be answered in writing. The Candidate to be permitted the use of the ש"ע עם בא"ה ופ"ה during this part of the Examination.

- III. During the twelve months preceding the Examination, opportunities shall be given to Candidates to become conversant with the practical portions of שמעיה ובריקה ומילה with the answering of שאלות דיני א"ה and the סידור גמין וחליצה.

- IV. The Examination shall not last longer than three days.

- (5) To conduct the Examination, the following (or such of them as shall be able and willing to act) shall be constituted as the Board of Examiners: —

The President (the Chief Rabbi); the Haham; the Principal; the Theological Tutor; and a Member of the Beth Din to be nominated by the Council, and to hold office for the ensuing Examination.

The President shall be the Chairman of the Examiners, with an additional casting vote in the event of an equality of votes.

- (6) As soon as possible after the Examination, and within one calendar month, the Principal shall draw up a Report for the Council upon each Candidate separately; each such Report shall state the recommendation of the Examiners, and in the case of a successful student that he has been recommended to the President of the College (the Chief Rabbi) as competent for *התרת הוראה*, the Diploma of Rabbi.

In the case of an unsuccessful Candidate, the Report shall clearly state in what subject or subjects he has failed to satisfy the Examiners. A Candidate who has failed to pass on one occasion shall be allowed to enter for any subsequent Examination, provided that he comply with the Regulations set forth above.

- (7) The Diploma, with the Seal of Jews' College attached, shall be presented to the successful Candidate or Candidates at the Public Distribution of Prizes next following the Examination.
- (8) The Diploma shall be in Hebrew and English:
- (I.) The Hebrew, written, in accordance with the customary form and phraseology;
- (II.) The English, printed in the following terms:—

JEW'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

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*התרת הוראה*

DIPLOMA OF RABBI.

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As the result of an Examination conducted within the College, by the BOARD OF EXAMINERS for the *התרת הוראה*, consisting of:—

THE PRESIDENT (THE REVD. THE CHIEF RABBI);

. . . . .

THE HAHAM;

. . . . .

THE PRINCIPAL OF THE COLLEGE;

. . . . .

THE THEOLOGICAL TUTOR;

. . . . .

MEMBER OF THE BETH DIN;

This DIPLOMA testifies that the **התרת הוראה** has been conferred upon

A. B.

with all the rights, privileges, and status appertaining thereto.

*Signed*



*President of Jews' College.*

Date.

V.

# THE IDEAL OF A JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

At the prize-distribution of 1901, Prof. SOLOMON SCHECHTER, Reader in Rabbinic at the University of Cambridge, and Professor of Hebrew at University College, London, was invited to preside. The visit was looked forward to with more than ordinary interest. It was felt that the renowned delver among the literary treasures of the Cairo Genizah, and discoverer of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, would be the bearer to the College students of a message of inspiration from the past that would be peculiarly helpful to them in their new surroundings. And the expectation was not disappointed. Seldom, if ever, had Dr. SCHECHTER

soared, to higher flights of eloquent wisdom than at Jews' College, on the 21st April, 1901. The address was worthy alike of the man and the occasion. By rescuing it from the "genizah" pages of the Jewish press, and including it in these annals, we believe we are rendering a service to Jewish thought which theologians will welcome and appreciate. Prof. SCHECHTER said: —

The first thing to which my mind turned when I received the invitation of the Very Rev. the Chief Rabbi, on behalf of the Council, asking me to distribute the prizes and to deliver an address, 'bringing before the students the ideal of a theological seminary', was a passage from the Sepher Hammibchar which I happened to read some days before. The Sepher Hammibchar represents a commentary to the Pentateuch by a certain AARON ben ELIAH, and was edited with notes centuries after the death of the author by ABRAHAM of Jerusalem. Coming to some difficulty the solution of which afforded diversity of opinion, the annotator makes the following remark: "It is of itself understood that all the words of our master and teacher are true and perfect. Since, however, the leaders and wise men of our community have no objection to any man offering his opinion where such an opinion might prove helpful to the student, I will now, with their permission, answer also my part, and give my explanation of the passage". ABRAHAM of Jerusalem was writing in a country, Russia, where it was not safe to make remarks without permission, whilst the difficulty with which he had to deal was of a metaphysical character. In this country we are in the habit of offering opinions without submitting them first to the approval of our betters, nor is the difficulty confronting me of such a solemn nature. Yet I need hardly tell you that every one must feel a certain embarrassment when called upon to speak on matters connected with the training of Jewish ministers in the presence of the President and that of the staff of Jews' College, who, both by their learning and experience, impose silence upon one. I am specially referring to the presence of our revered Chief Rabbi, the Very Rev. Dr. ADLER, the presiding genius of this institution in its normal and better days; who, both by his learning and his practical wisdom [and tact, was, and is, the moral mainstay of the College; the presence of Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER, the revered Principal of this institution, the Nestor of Jewish principals, the author of "Jewish Religion" and one of our greatest living authorities on the productions of MAIMONIDES and IBN EZRA; the presence of Dr. HIRSCH, the theological tutor of this College, who has grown grey in the service of this institution, whose knowledge of the Oxford and Paris Schoolmen of the Middle Ages is only equalled by his familiarity with Jewish thought of different ages, and who has shown by his contributions, scattered over various learned periodicals, that this institution possesses on its staff a scholar rare among scholars; and the presence of Mr. ISRAEL



ABRAHAMS, the senior tutor of the College, who is both *Talmid* (disciple) and the *Chacham* (Master) of the College, whose name is a household word in every Jewish family, and whose books on Jewish history and Jewish life are accepted as standard works in two hemispheres. I would also not advise anybody to speak too confidently on the subject of Semitic Grammar or on the various productions dating from the Hebrew-Arabic period of our history in the presence of Dr. HIRSCHFELD, Master and Librarian in this College, the editor and translator of the *Cusari*. Nor must I refrain, though I do not intend to speak on the secular work accomplished by the College, from expressing the deep gratitude which one feels to Mr. G. W. KILNER, M. A., in this branch. He is at once the teacher and the friend of the students, and the affection with which they regard him is the outcome of his character and his work. However, here I am arrayed in all the paraphernalia of the Don, and invested with all the authority of a prize-distributor. All that I can do is to say סברי מרנן, "with your permission, my masters". I will now attempt to say a few words on the subject introduced above — the ideal of a Jewish Theological Seminary. Now ideals are as a rule hardly definable. They are as difficult to describe with any preciseness as they are hard to obtain, but we cannot be entirely wrong if we think that the training of students of divinity should in its working after divine models partake in its nature of that divine attribute described in our liturgy as the one that "creates many souls and their wants". I do not intend to dwell long on the first part of our proposition, for the very simple reason that the term "soul" bears no proper analysis. I have sometimes been reproached for not paying sufficient attention to my dictionary. All I can tell you is, "Do not imitate my bad example". But please be not deceived into believing that lexicon learning is the *ultima ratio* of wisdom. The wisdom which can be arranged alphabetically, stored up in so many pigeon-holes and labelled, God, duty, devotion, religion, etc., is hardly worth having. No, you cannot look up your soul in any dictionary, and neither Annandale, nor Webster, nor even Murray, will be of the slightest help to you in the explanation of such a term, for instance, as Love. The ancient Rabbis apparently felt these limitations, and gave ample proof of it in their productions. The commandment, "Seven days shall there be no leaven found in your houses" was allowed to develop into a whole literature, occupying almost a whole tractate of commentary in the Talmud and hundreds of paragraphs in our legal codes, whilst the verse, "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God" could hardly boast of any commentary at all. To verses of such a nature every man was expected to offer his own explanation, as a manifestation of his own individuality, and in full harmony with his actions and way of living. You can prescribe all possible ceremonies and rules of procedure for various occasions in life, but you cannot observe much etiquette when ascending the stake, and this is what Love of God means. With regard to the "soul", they declared it to be in many ways God-like, but this is only explaining a puzzling secret by a solemn mystery. All the advice to be offered on this point can only be of a negative nature, as "be not soulless". I mean



be not wanting in that capacity or modicum of grace the absence of which blights everything, turns philanthropy into vulgar patronage, loyalty and devotion to friends into unbearable obtrusiveness, words of prayer into blasphemous utterance, and wide learning into mere inflated pedantry. "Where is the seat of wisdom?" is a question which occupied the mind of the Rabbis some eighteen hundred years ago; some pointing to the head, others to the heart. Religious history has decided in favour of both, real wisdom being a combination of reason and emotion, neither of which can be neglected without damage to one's soul. The constant alternating of the Halacha, the legal part of the Torah, with the Hagada, the narrative part of the Law, bears witness to this great truth. Speaking in an institution which is devoted to the cultivation of the Halacha and the Hagada, there is no need for me to enlarge upon the nature and significance of these two great "pillars of Jewish truth", but I may perhaps hint that the highest task that the Jewish student could set to himself would be to point out those sparks of Divine and human sympathy which permeate the Halacha, thus recommending it to the heart. HILLEL's dictum: The whole of the Torah may be reduced to a commentary of "And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself", was not a mere paradox. And on the other hand, it would be equally meritorious that the student should bring into prominence those elements of eternal truth buried under the débris and hyperbolic language of folk-lore and fable, thus reconciling the head with the Hagada. But the dictum of HILLEL just quoted closes with the injunction: "proceed to study". But you cannot expect a man to continue his studies unless you first make him conscious of his ignorance. And this brings us to the second part of our proposition. I am thinking of the comment of the Gaon to the benediction of *Boré Nephashoth*, which is to the effect that the creation of wants, "*Vechesronan*", is as much a part of the divine economy in the guidance of the world as the creation of souls. And nowhere is this more true than in the intellectual world, where self-complacency and satisfaction with one's share of knowledge means stagnation and ultimate spiritual death. You probably have all heard of the promise according to which the advent of the Messiah will bring instantaneous relief to all afflicted with disease or malformation of the body or any other human defect except — the fool. The underlying idea is that no salvation, be it that of the body or the soul, is possible without the preceding penance and repentance, a vital part of which is self-contrition and the consciousness on the part of the sufferer of his shortcomings and frailties, whilst the fool will never confess to his ignorance. The creation of such a conviction of one's imperfection and wants, and to make one fully convinced that, for instance, the B. A., or even the Hatarath Horaah, or even the possession of this scarlet gown, does not relieve one of the sacred duty of continuing one's studies, would thus be a saving work, an ideal worthy of any educational institution. My friends, you must not flatter yourselves that you will ever succeed in becoming life-long teachers, as every minister is bound to be, unless you agree to become at the same time life-long learners. Mind, there is no real *status quo* in the world of intellect.

Every day brings with it fresh problems, whilst every year makes obsolete so many conceptions of the Universe which have been passed as satisfactory for centuries. And you will by no means remove these problems and difficulties by refusing to discuss them, or by assuming that superior attitude which covers its ignorance by ignoring others. Nor must you fall into the error of those who, like the old-fashioned divines with their beloved theology, are now proclaiming political economy as the queen of all the sciences. I thoroughly and honestly do appreciate the work of all those who are occupied with the settling of the great social problem, running in Biblical language, "And if ye say what shall we eat". But let us not forget that man does not live by bread only. He has also a past to account and a future to provide for. It is the longing of the human soul for some adequate interpretation of the past and the consolidation of some hope and promise for the future which are the mainspring of the two branches of knowledge passing under the name of history and theology; and it is for the cultivation of these subjects, as well as for the office of worship, that synagogues are established, colleges are created, and ministers are trained. The synagogue should altogether, in my humble opinion, only stand as an influence and a leaven of society, and not be degraded into becoming its organ and instrument. The synagogue should be above society, not its handmaiden, if you don't want it to become tainted with the vanities and vulgarities inevitably clinging to an ever-pushing, ever-racing, ever-advertizing humanity.

Speaking of the purpose which Jews' College was to serve, Dr. SCHECHTER went on to observe: —

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the whole *raison d'être* of this Seminary is the study of the theology and history of Judaism, and no other subject should be allowed to supplant, or in any way to shorten, the curriculum of Jewish studies in this place. Remember there is not such a thing as kosher Mathematics or orthodox laboratories, or a Jewish Homer or Virgil, but there is assuredly such a thing as a special Jewish conception of God and the Universe, there *is* such a thing as a special Jewish interpretation of the Past, and there *is* a particular Jewish aspect and prospect of the Future which may perhaps be characterized as a spiritual Imperialism, with its accompanying doctrine of the spiritual "Open door", through which they will all come to serve Thee, **וְיָאָחֲזוּ כָל לְעַבְדֶּיךָ**, etc., etc. Be not unmindful of the fact that there are hundreds of institutions devoted to the cultivation of the secular arts and sciences, but this institution is the only **מְקוֹם תּוֹרָה** in this great country. I must remark that owing to the various discoveries made within the last ten years, whole sections of Jewish history as contained the works of GRAETZ, JOST and others, are now largely obsolete, and will have to be rewritten in accordance with the results afforded by the latest finds. Now, Germany, and even Russia, have done their share fairly by Jewish history. I need only to mention here the names of RAPPOPORT, KROCHMAL, GRAETZ and ZUNZ. It is now our turn to complete the work which those

great men have begun, and the duty devolves the more upon us since, by a peculiar train of coincidences, it so happens that we, in this country, are almost in the exclusive possession of the literary treasures which the last decade has revealed to the world. I must also draw your attention to the munificent gift of our three great patrons of Jewish learning in this country. Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL, Mr. FREDERIC MOCATTA, and Mr. CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE have presented the library of our learned friend, the much-beloved scholar, the Rev. Dr. A. LÖWY, to this Institution. It forms undoubtedly one of the finest collections of philological books and Judaica, and its full value will be recognized when its erudite possessor will, as he expressed his intention to me, have finished his detailed description of the treasures contained in it. I may, perhaps, point out in passing that this passionate devotion to the study of ancient MSS., which you may possibly have observed in some students, has not its source in mere antiquarianism or love of curios, as certain gentlemen are pleased to describe it. The famous R. NISSIM GAON, the correspondent of R. Sherira and R. Hai Gaon, and the author of the *Maphteach*, says, in the introduction of his work, "And I entreat everybody who will profit by the study of this work to pray to God for me and cause me to find mercy whether I am alive or dead." Nowadays we are not always in a praying mood. With HEGEL, some of us, perhaps, believe that thinking is also praying. But the sensation we experience in our work is not very unlike that which should accompany our devotions. Every discovery of an ancient document, giving evidence of a bygone world, is, if undertaken in the right spirit — that is, for the honour of God, and not for the glory of self — an act of resurrection in miniature. How the past suddenly rushes in upon you with all its joys and woes! And there is a spark of a human soul like yours come to light again after a disappearance for centuries, crying for sympathy and mercy even as R. NISSIM did. You dare not neglect it and slay this soul again. Unless you choose to become another Cain, you must be the keeper of your brother and give him a fair hearing. You pray with him if he happens to be a liturgist. You grieve with him if the impress left by him in your mind is that of suffering, and you even doubt with him if the garb in which he makes his reappearance is that of an honest sceptic — souls can only be kissed through the medium of sympathy. To return to our subject, I will quote a passage from the *Siphre*: "How came it about that Israel has become petty and dull-brained? Because they were not building in the words of the Torah". Colleges and universities can only impress you with the immensity of the task before you, and make you feel the shortcomings of your attainments, and supply you with the basis of your building. But as soon as the foundations of the buildings are laid it is for you to complete the work which the College has begun. And unless you are satisfied to remain small and mediocre — not to use the harsher term of the *Siphre* — you should all your life be fixing seasons for the study of the Torah, and follow the example of the Amorah, R. ISAAC BEN SHEMUEL, of whom it is said that he was all his life "transplanting himself or



advancing from one society busy with the study of the Torah unto another pursuing the same aim". If this example be too Oriental for your taste, I will call your attention to models from the Anglican Church, of men full of years and rich in dignities, who often come down to the Universities for a term or two for the purpose of renewing their studies and attending certain courses of lectures calculated to bring up to date their rusty learning. For the time being these grey-bearded gentlemen become regular undergraduates, grateful for every piece of information imparted to them, and enjoying to the full the pleasures of a second boyhood. My young friends! you all know the term 'sons or children of the Torah'. When a certain Rabbi of the third century was rebuked by a Roman dignitary for what seemed an inconsistency in the conduct of the former, he answered, "We are the 'children of the Torah', and for her sake we are prepared to become martyrs". Happily you are not called upon to bring such sacrifices. But we may fairly expect you to maintain those relations to mother Torah usually marked as filial, such as love, reverence, loyalty and life-long devotion.

During that year Prof. SCHECHTER joined the Council. But his connection with the College had shortly to be severed in consequence of his departure from England to take up the position of Principal of the Hebrew Theological Seminary in New York. On that occasion the SCHECHTER Testimonial Committee presented the College through its Hon. Secretary, Mr. HERBERT BENTWICH, with a fine portrait of the Cambridge Professor, which hangs in the Lecture Hall.

## VI.

### THE PRINCIPAL OF JEWS' COLLEGE.

If the name and personality of the Principal of Jews' College have not hitherto loomed large in these pages, it would be a mistake to infer that his activity has not been the dominating factor in the progress which the institution has recorded during the forty years he has stood at its head. The dial of a clock shows the movement of its hands as they revolve upon its surface, but the mainspring which controls that movement is necessarily concealed from the

spectator's view among the works, whose existence has to be taken for granted. It is thus with the life-long labours of Dr. MICHAEL FRIEDLÄNDER. Performed as they for the most part have been in the retirement of the College class-rooms, or hidden away among the periodical reports to the Council and Education Committee, they have scarcely been of a nature to call prominent attention to themselves. They can only be estimated by their results; by their influence upon Anglo-Judaism; by the careers of the men who have gone forth from Jews' College to minister and teach, the preponderating majority of whom are Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER'S pupils. The affectionate respect in which they have held him, the immense enthusiasm with which his name has been received at every gathering and public function connected with Jews' College, may be regarded as some indication of what Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER has accomplished in the course of his strenuous life.

While his labours have chiefly been given to Jews' College, they have by no means been confined to this institution. The foremost representative of Jewish scholarship in this country, Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER has been prominent in every literary and educational movement that has gone forward in the community. The now defunct Society of Hebrew Literature, the Hebrew Literature Meetings that met in the seventies under the Presidency of the Rev. A. L. GREEN, the Jewish Association for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge and its present-day representative, the Jewish Religious Education Board, the Jewish Historical Society, the Society of Biblical Archaeology, the Jews' College Literary Society and the literary-societies' movement of which this body was the pioneer — these and many other educational agencies have been immensely indebted to his activity as a lecturer, a writer, and a working mem-



ber of committees. At the same time, his services have been freely given to the community as an honorary examiner of schools, and in many other capacities which there is no call to specify.

Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER's writings have carried his name wherever Jewish scholarship is known and appreciated. They rank as the most erudite works of their kind in the subjects of which they treat. Chief among them are those which were published under the auspices of the Society of Hebrew Literature, comprising "The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah", edited from MSS., and translated with Notes, Introduction and Glossary; "The Book of Isaiah" Anglican Version, emended according to the "Commentary of Ibn Ezra"; "Essay on the writings of Abraham Ibn Ezra"; and a translation from the original Arabic, with notes, of the "Guide to the Perplexed" of Maimonides. The latter work at once became a classic of indispensable value to English-speaking students of Jewish-Arabian philosophy, while his writings on Ibn Ezra have placed him among the foremost authorities on that subject. As a Biblical Exegetist from a strictly conservative standpoint, Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER has probably no equal among scholars in this country. His labours in this department have resulted in the publication of a "Jewish Family Bible in Hebrew and English" — a revision of the Anglican Version which has been adopted for use in many Synagogues — in a number of critical articles on the Revised Version contributed to the *Jewish Chronicle*, in lectures and publications on such separate books of Scripture as "Ecclesiastes" and "The Song of Songs", and in the "Appendix to the Revised Version" issued by the Jewish Religious Education Board, which was largely the outcome of his scholarship. His two works on "The Jewish Religion" have run into several editions, and are the approved text-books for

use in Jewish schools. One of them has been translated into Marathi. Nor must his calculations for the Jewish Calendar be forgotten, his knowledge of Astronomy having been brought to bear upon the arrangement of the tables of night-fall in all parts of England, published in Vallentine's Anglo-Jewish Almanac. For some years past Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER has been engaged on a special work dealing with the Jewish Calendar, an article on which in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* is from his pen. Finally have to be noted his scholarly contributions to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, and various Continental publications. Without enumerating the various Papers he has read to learned societies, mention may be made of his lectures on Spinoza, delivered before the Jews' College Literary Society, and a Paper read at the Society of Biblical Archaeology, treating of a Hebrew system of vowels and accents not previously known to scholars.

Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER has thus, by the range and depth of his attainments, proved his fitness to be the teacher of the teachers of the community. But the distinguished respect which he has acquired in the discharge of this responsibility rests on something more important, even, than scholarship. A seminary for training the religious guides of Israel must always stand for the principle that "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge". Of that principle Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER has been the consistent embodiment since the hour that the destinies of Jews' College were committed to his keeping. By the evident sincerity of his blameless life, his dignified modesty, and sweetness of disposition, Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER has earned for himself the title of a Sage in Israel. He has been described as a modern HILLEL, a present day MENDELSSOHN, who by his simplicity of character wins over to goodness those who come within the range of his influence.

## VII.

## CELEBRATION OF HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY.

In the course of 1903 an opportunity presented itself for testifying to the great esteem entertained for the scholar and the man. On the 29th April, according to the English date, and the 8th Iyar, reckoning by the Hebrew Calendar, Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER attained his 70th birthday, and the event was duly celebrated by Jews' College. At the distribution of Prizes held on the 3rd May, the Chief Rabbi presented to Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER an Address of Congratulation from the College Council, accompanied by these words: "Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER, I deem it a high privilege to be the mouthpiece of the Council on this occasion, and to present to you on their behalf an address of congratulation on the happy attainment of your seventieth birthday. I rejoice that this task has fallen to me, because it has been my privilege and my joy to have been on terms of intimate friendship with you from the very first moment that you set foot on British shores. It has been my joy and privilege to take sweet counsel together with you, and I thankfully record the many occasions on which you have given me your valuable aid and advice. Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER, in making this presentation there is much that I could say and much that I would wish to say, but I abstain from doing so, being mindful of the Rabbinic adage, that it is wise to mention only a portion of a man's praise in the presence of him to whom we desire to offer it. I also desire to say that the Jewish press has borne an admirable tribute to your scholarship and to your manifold virtues, and that I shall proceed to read the address of the Council, in which expression is given to our sentiments for you. Therefore there is no need to

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dilate, except to say that no one is more sensible than I am of the grave responsibilities which you have had to discharge for a period of thirty-eight years in your position of Principal of Jews' College. Nobody knows better than I the many anxieties you have had to bear, the grave difficulties with which you have had to cope, and I know how in battling with these difficulties and in endeavouring to discharge your high responsibilities you have been sustained by your deep sense of duty. We gladly record how in these duties you have been cheered by the companionship of your wife, whom we all respect, and I would now beg to say that all our wishes and hopes and prayers for you are summed up in the ancient blessing: "And as thy days, so may thy strength be". May your advancing years be solaced by the consciousness that you have ever striven to fulfill your duty, and may those who have issued from the walls of this institution, and those who will continue to go forth from them, ever be inspired by your example and by your lessons to become and to remain worthy teachers in Israel, fired even as you have been with enthusiasm for your faith and unshaken loyalty to the teachings of Judaism. I beg to hand you this testimonial". Dr. ADLER then read the text of the following framed Address: —

At a meeting of the Council of Jews' College, held on March 18th, 1903, the Very Rev. the Chief Rabbi, President, in the Chair, it was resolved unanimously that: —

The Council beg to offer to Dr. MICHAEL FRIEDLÄNDER, the Principal of the College, the expression of their sincere congratulations on the occasion of his seventieth Birthday. Thirty-eight years have elapsed since he came from Berlin to take upon himself the very responsible duties of his office; and every succeeding year has witnessed a growth of the esteem and affection with which he has been regarded by all who have been brought within the sphere of his influence.

To the students and pupils his teaching and example have been fraught with the most beneficial results, and it must be a source of pride for him to know that in Great Britain and her Colonies a large proportion of the



Ministers of the Jewish congregations received their theological training under his learned and benign supervision.

His relations with the Council have always been of the most cordial character, and the confidence which they have reposed in him has been amply justified by his constant and unsparing devotion to the best interests of the Institution. The Council feel that, in tendering to him this expression of their heartfelt good wishes, they are voicing the sentiments not only of themselves, but likewise of the whole Anglo-Jewish community, to whom he has endeared himself by the manifestation of the best qualities which enlist the admiration of all men.

To his devoted wife, also, they beg to offer the expression of their most sincere congratulations; for they are conscious of the great part which she has played in their long and happy union, and the sustaining support which she has given to him in the arduous work of his life.

The Council trust that they may both enjoy many more years of happiness, surrounded ever by the affection and esteem of their many friends.

H. ADLER, President.

EDWARD SASSOON, Vice-Presidents.

CHARLES SAMUEL,

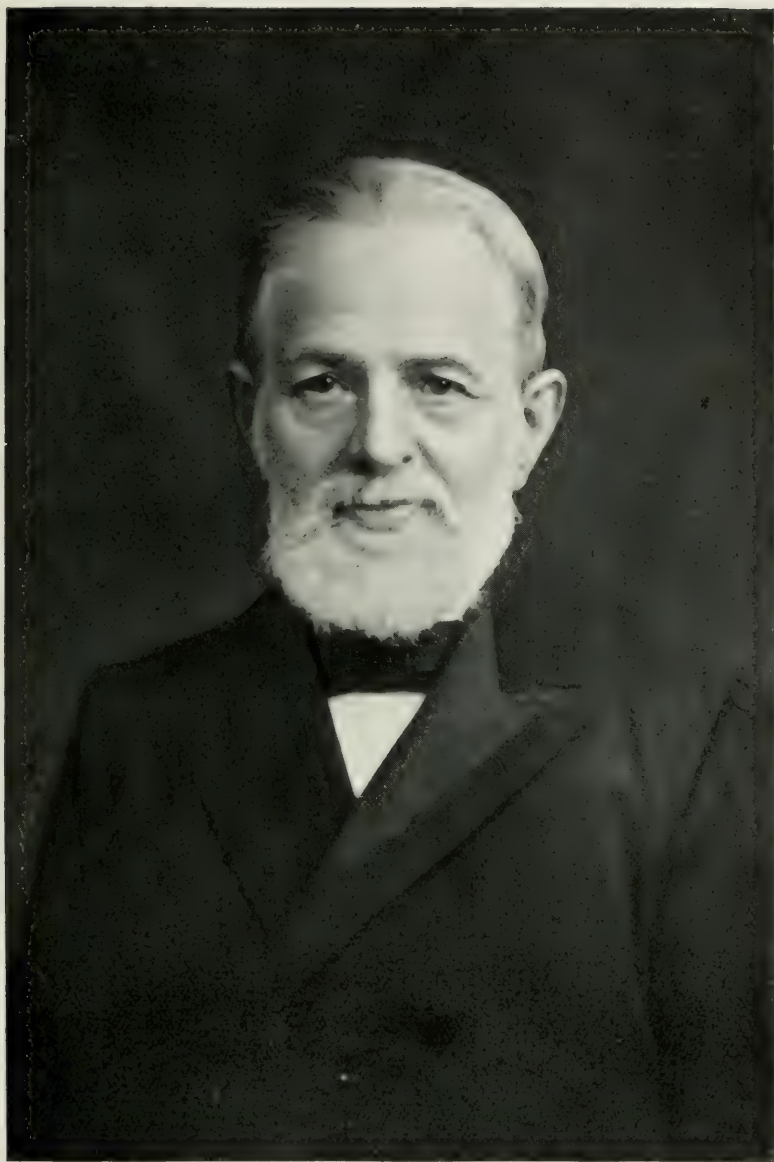
JAMES H. SOLOMON, Treasurers.

ADOLPH TUCK,

JOHN CHAPMAN, Honorary Secretary.

A few weeks later Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER's pupils, present and past, associated themselves with his colleagues in presenting him with a further Address of Congratulation, engrossed in an illuminated album and signed by the donors. At the same time they presented to the Council of Jews' College a portrait of Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER (here reproduced), to be hung in the Lecture Hall. The presentation was made on the occasion of a *soirée* organized by the Jews' College Union Society, which was attended by the ministers of the Metropolitan Synagogues, the students of Jews' College, and a large contingent of their friends. With Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAM as Chairman, Dr. S. A. HIRSCH as the spokesman of Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER's colleagues, the Rev. S. SINGER speaking on behalf of past students, and Mr. ISRAEL COHEN voicing the sentiments of present students, the occasion proved to be one of impressive interest. The following is the text of the album address: —





DR. M. FRIEDLÄNDER.



1833 Jews' College London.

1903 To Dr. MICHAEL FRIEDLÄNDER, Principal of Jews' College.

We, the Members of the Staff and the present and past Students of Jews' College, offer you our heartiest congratulations on the happy completion of your Seventieth Year. We hail this event with all the more joy, inasmuch as it affords us a suitable opportunity for expressing the love which we feel towards you, and the esteem in which we have always held you. Your singular humility of character prevents us from detailing your numerous claims to our regard and affection, and thus spares us a task which we could ill hope successfully to accomplish. Suffice it to say that all your disciples have become your friends, and all your friends would wish to be your disciples. By your successful guidance of the destinies of Jews' College for a period of nearly forty years, you have effectively influenced the larger destinies of the Anglo-Jewish Community, and only the historian of the future can attempt to estimate the full and far-reaching estimate of their influence. By your labours in the field of Jewish Scholarship you have lightened the task of the student and made permanent contributions to the enrichment of Literature. By your constant and kindly readiness to guide the perplexed, whether in the province of pure academics or in the spheres of practical religion and communal deliberation, you have earned the title of Philanthropist in a sense that is all the more precious because unconnected with anything ephemeral. We desire to associate the name of Mrs. FRIEDLÄNDER with this Address, in order to complete its justification and enhance its interest. We feel that the large measure of success that has resulted from your labours derives no little of its source from her loyal encouragement and her zealous cooperation. We beg you to accept this Album containing the signatures of your colleagues on the Staff, of your present Students, and of your past Students still living, as the visible token of our veneration. But it is accompanied by countless wishes and ineffable hopes [that the Almighty will spare your wife and yourself to continue for untold years in peace, health, and happiness, enjoying the love of your kin, the regard of your friends, and the undying esteem of the entire community.

Isaac Aarons.  
Isidore Aarons.  
Joshua Abelson.  
A. Abrahams.  
Israel Abrahams.  
M. Abrahams.  
Michael Adler.  
S. Alfred Adler.  
A. Antoine.  
M. Bensky.  
Berman Berliner.

John Chapman.  
A. I. Clarke.  
Abraham Cohen.  
Barnet I. Cohen.  
Harris Cohen.  
Herman Cohen.  
Israel Cohen.  
Samuel I. Cohen.  
J. Dangelowitz.  
M. E. Davis.  
Emmanuel Drukker.

W. Esterson  
Asher Feldman.  
W. M. Feldman.  
Gerald Friedländer.  
B. Goldstein.  
Leopold Goldwater.  
Hermann Gollancz.  
H. H. Gordon.  
A. A. Green.  
Isidore Harris.  
John Harris.

Simeon D. Hart.  
 S. L. Hasluck.  
 David Hirsch.  
 S. A. Hirsch.  
 Hartwig Hirschfeld.  
 Joseph Hochman.  
 Henry H. Hyams.  
 M. Hyamson.  
 E. Hyman.  
 Alexander Jacob.  
 L. Jacob.  
 Morris Joseph.  
 A. Kenner.  
 G. W. Kilner.  
 S. Kutner.  
 Z. Laurence.  
 Samuel Levene.  
 J. L. Levin.  
 Walter Levin.

Ephraim Levine.  
 Israel Levinson.  
 Abraham Levy.  
 S. Levy.  
 Samuel Levy.  
 G. Lipkind.  
 D. Manchevsky.  
 H. G. Meyer.  
 Lewis Morris.  
 Samuel Moses.  
 S. Moses.  
 Simeon Newman.  
 H. L. Pass.  
 E. P. Phillips.  
 J. Polack.  
 David de Sola Pool.  
 Morris Rosenbaum.  
 Abraham D. Rubenstein.  
 Jacob S. Sackier.

Isaac Samuel.  
 Nelson Samuel.  
 Selim Samuel.  
 Herbert J. Sandheim.  
 Jacob H. Schneiderman.  
 S. Singer.  
 H. Snowman.  
 J. Snowman.  
 Joel Snowman.  
 Isidore Statman.  
 Joseph F. Stern.  
 Reuben Tribich.  
 Abraham Turner.  
 A. Henriques Valentine.  
 J. H. Valentine.  
 D. Wasserzug.  
 Philip Wolfers.  
 A. Wolf.

Queen Square House,  
 Guilford Street. London.

Iyar 8. 5663  
 May 5. 1903

Dr. FRIEDLANDER's reply was to this effect: —

"I thank you with all my heart for the trouble you have taken to organize this celebration of the 70th anniversary of my birthday. Faithful to our tradition, you have thus assembled here to keep **יום טוב שני** **של גלות** but of **זמן שמחהנו**. I thank, likewise, those that are represented here by kind messages, especially our first and oldest friend, the President of Jews' College, Dr. H. ADLER, whose absence we all regret; but we are pleased to learn that he has sufficiently recovered to be able to leave London in order to complete his recovery. Our good wishes and prayers follow him for a speedy and complete recovery of health and strength. As it is his birthday to-day, let us send him a hearty 'Many happy returns of the day'. On an occasion like this, when one has climbed up the tree of life to a certain height, one should like to pause a little and to look around, to reflect on the distance still before us to climb — at least in our hopes and wishes. Whatever Providence has in store for us we are prepared to accept gratefully and to employ cheerfully in the fulfilment of our duties. Some people think our task in life is hard and cheerless. This is not the case, as I have found it by long experience. In spite of trouble, care, and hard work, "my lot has fallen in pleasant places", and I share the happiness with my wife, our dear daughter, our learned son-in-law, and a cheerful circle of promising grandchildren. The past thus encourages me to look forward with confidence to the still-veiled future. Our task in life is made on the whole comparatively easy and pleasant for

us. He who allows us to climb up the tree of life has planted within our reach the tree of knowledge; we need only stretch forth our hand, with more or less exertion, and we can pluck the choicest fruit for ourselves and our fellow-men. You will perhaps recall that man was warned not to partake of the fruit of that tree; true, but under peculiar circumstances: in Paradise, without trouble, without labour. Under such circumstances man was only able to obtain unripe, diseased fruit, that fell too easily from the tree. Away from Paradise, with cares and hard work, when eating bread in the sweat of his brow, there is for man no forbidden fruit in the tree of knowledge, without which the tree of life would indeed be useless and undesirable; to hold to the one, and not let loose of the other, that is the sacred mission of man. In the opinion of my friends assembled here, expressed individually and collectively, I have always tried to fulfil that mission to the best of my ability. The present is not the proper occasion to criticize my friends' opinion, I must reserve this for my own conscience and for Him 'who fashioneth the heart of man and knoweth all his deeds'. All I can say is, that my endeavour has always been to benefit those entrusted to my care. That this endeavour has not been in vain is largely due to the cheerful cooperation of my colleagues, and — modifying an old dictum of the Rabbis, 'I owe much to my teachers, and more to my colleagues, and most to my pupils' — to the conduct of my pupils and their confidence in me, to the affection and regard for their master which I have enjoyed from the very beginning of my connection with this Institution up to the present time. I have received so many tokens of regard on the occasion of my seventieth anniversary that it is impossible to mention everything. I will, however, single out two things that may interest you. Dr. GOLLANCZ has presented me with an ancient key ('Clavicula Salomonis') which is believed to have been in the hands of King Solomon, who may even have devised it. It was intended no doubt for me to unlock some hidden treasures with it, and if I succeed you shall have a share. Another friend, Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, sent his kind message of congratulation by an old acquaintance of mine, a mutual friend of ours, MOSES BEN MAIMON ('MAIMONIDES — a Jewish Worthy') in new festive attire. I kept that messenger, and I do not intend to let him go back, and I am sure he will entertain me when I have leisure and when I feel inclined. I must, however, not forget the object of my rising to address you: to tell you how much I appreciate your way of showing your attachment to Jews' College and your old master. You could hardly have devised a better way. This beautiful album, with its beautiful address and signatures, will ever remain a pleasant, tangible reminder of those who rightly feel themselves near and dear to me. This gathering adds a fresh impulse to life and work, and your presence here will ever remain in our memory a source of pleasure and happiness."



## VIII.

RETIREMENT AND DEATH OF CHARLES SAMUEL. —  
OTHER LOSSES.

Early in the summer of 1901 Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL had expressed a desire to resign the office of Treasurer, which he had held for nigh upon a quarter of a century. Advancing age and failing health had rendered such a step imperative. At the Council's urgent request he had consented to hold over his resignation till the end of the year in order that he might assist in an appeal that was to be made to the public for further financial assistance. On the 23rd September Mr. SAMUEL completed his 80th year, and two days afterwards a deputation from Jews' College, headed by Dr. FRIEDLÄNDER, and consisting of the teaching staff and senior students, waited upon him to offer their congratulations. Mr. SAMUEL's resignation took effect at the following General Meeting in May 1902, when he was created a Vice-President, and succeeded in the office of Treasurer by Mr. ADOLPH TUCK, one of the present Treasurers. Shortly afterwards Mrs. DELISSA JOSEPH presented to the College a portrait which she had painted of Mr. SAMUEL "as a memento of his interest in the institution".

But the beneficent career of this grand old man was drawing to an end. On October 5, 1903, Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL breathed his last, and the sorrowful sentiments of the Council were embodied in the following series of resolutions: —

The Council have received with profound regret the sad tidings of the death of their esteemed Vice-President, the late Mr. CHARLES SAMUEL, and they desire to tender to Mr. ASSUR KEYSER, and to all the other members of his bereaved family, the expression of their warmest sympathy in the loss which they have sustained.

For nearly thirty years their esteemed colleague ungrudgingly gave to the Institution the best fruits of his wise counsel, his zealous personal services, and a bountiful share of his worldly means.



MR. JAMES H. SOLOMON  
SENIOR TREASURER.



MR. ADOLPH TUCK  
JUNIOR TREASURER



As far back as the year 1881, the Council presented him with an illuminated address (Mr. SAMUEL having declined any more substantial expression of their esteem) as a mark of their appreciation of his unflagging efforts in collecting funds to secure for the College, free of rental, the premises known as Tavistock House; and four years ago, when the Council were confronted by the very difficult duty of obtaining a new habitat for the Institution, he generously took upon himself the whole burden of obtaining the present premises by a munificent gift of five thousand pounds.

During all these eventful years, and until quite recently, when the infirmities of advancing age caused him to relinquish the office of Treasurer, he attended the meetings of the Council in one unbroken chain, and no inducement of personal ease kept him away from its deliberations. The finances of the Institution, too, to which he very munificently contributed, found in him a most careful guardian, and every year he took upon himself the most onerous duty of making a personal appeal to his own friends and to the supporters of the Institution in order to replenish its exhausted means.

In him the Council have lost a friend, whose sagacious mind and gentle heart, united to innate modesty and goodness, which were his distinguishing characteristics, won the lasting admiration and esteem of all his colleagues; and in tendering to his sorrowing family, this expression of their sympathy, the Council feel that they are but voicing the sentiments of the whole Anglo-Jewish Community.

Nor was this the only tribute to his memory. A special Memorial Service was held at Queen Square House, and the Chief Rabbi delivered an address in the course of which he emphasized the exceptional services of the deceased. "It is meet", said Dr. ADLER, "that within these walls we should offer our tribute of gratitude in recognition of all that he wrought for Jews' College. As the tablet set up in the Entrance Hall testifies, CHARLES SAMUEL gave this institution thirty years of devoted service, and accorded it his most munificent support. To his generosity we owe this spacious building, with its stately hall, its fine library, and its convenient class and common rooms, its comfortable dwelling, and its appliances for physical exercise. But he did not limit himself to pecuniary benefactions. He was unflagging in his zeal for the prosperity of the College and for the welfare of those who are trained within its walls. It was a source of

deep gratification to him when any of our students obtained posts either within the kingdom or in a community beyond the seas, and when they proved themselves worthy of their *alma mater* . . . . The demise of CHARLES SAMUEL leaves an aching void in the ranks of the community. But by no institution will his loss be more keenly felt than by Jews' College. Verily, it is no mere figure of speech when we say respecting him, 'Thou wilt be missed, for thy seat will be empty'. At this memorial service the question presses itself upon us, how can we hallow his memory in the most fitting manner? I would bid you hearken to the exhortation which the example, the worth, and the words of our lamented Treasurer addressed to you. It bids you, the students, prepare yourselves for the sacred calling you have chosen with single-minded devotion and whole-hearted earnestness. It calls upon the members of the community, but especially upon his friends and kindred: 'Do not suffer this institution which was so dear to him in life to pine and languish from the lack of whole-hearted support'".

Jews' College suffered other losses about this period. The death of CHARLES SAMUEL followed upon that of Sir JOSEPH SEBAG MONTEFIORE, who died in the previous January, and who "had been associated with the Institution from the early days of its history". And in May, 1902, there had passed away, in the prime of manhood, that valued friend of the College, ASHER I. MYERS, of the *Jewish Chronicle*, who seemed to have inherited all the interest in, and enthusiasm for, Jews' College of a former Editor of that journal. "As a member of the Council for nearly twenty years", writes the Report for 1902, "as Chairman of the Library Committee, and of several other Sub-Committees, his devotion to the interests of the Institution, evinced more especially on the occasion of the removal of the College to its present habitat, had







ASHER I. MYERS  
SOMETIME CHAIRMAN OF LIBRARY COMMITTEE



REV. S. SINGER  
HON. SECRETARY OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE

*W. H. B. & Co.*

earned the gratitude of the Council, while his masculine common sense, his tact and self-effacement, endeared him to his colleagues". A portrait of Mr. MYERS, presented by his widow, now hangs in the Lecture Hall.

Then, following upon the death of CHARLES SAMUEL, came that of ALFRED LOUIS COHEN, who "to a deep insight into the religious requirements of the community, added an ardent desire for the intellectual advancement of his race, and devoted unsparing efforts to promote every good object in connection therewith." Besides bequeathing a legacy of five hundred pounds to the funds of the College, Mr. COHEN left a further sum of five thousand pounds, upon trust, the annual income of which was to provide one or more scholarships at Oxford or Cambridge, to be held by a pupil of Jews' College or the Jews' Free School.

To complete this mournful list of bereavements, in January, 1905, died Mr. FREDERIC D. MOCATTA, the friend of Jews' College, as of every other communal institution. "In the presence of the loss of such a benefactor to his race and his fellow countrymen", ran the Council's Vote of Condolence on the occasion, "Silence might be the best tribute to his memory, when words fail to describe the sentiments of love and admiration which he inspired in the hearts of all. But the Council cannot allow the passing of this beloved Exemplar of all that was noble and good to take place without attempting to record, however inadequately, their appreciation of the unique work of his life, and at the same time to offer to his bereaved widow and family the expression of their profound and abiding sympathy in the loss which they have sustained."

Mr. MOCATTA bequeathed to the funds of Jews' College a sum of £200, together with a large picture, entitled: "The Jews imploring FERDINAND and ISABELLA to allow

them to remain in Spain". This work is hung in the Lecture Hall, at the further end. It thus appropriately faces the other fine picture of a cognate subject which Mr. MOCATTA had presented to the College some years previously.

## IX.

THE FINANCES OF THE COLLEGE. — DEVELOPMENTS  
AND CHANGES.

The financial position of Jews' College, though it had considerably improved of late years, still occasioned anxiety. Even more rapid than the growth of its revenue was that of its expenditure. "It cannot be expected", the Treasurers stated in a report which they issued in 1901, "that a building of the size and importance of Queen Square House can be carried on and maintained at the very low figure which has ruled the expenditure at Tavistock House during the past twenty years." As we have seen, the last official act of CHARLES SAMUEL was to join in issuing an appeal to the public. A special circular was addressed to the Wardens, Ministers, and Congregations of the United Kingdom, which resulted in an addition of £150 to the Annual Subscriptions and £690 to the Donations. The Manchester Hebrew Congregation and the Birmingham Hebrew Congregation (one of the few synagogues in England which has not been served by Jews' College), to be followed later by Leeds and Hanley, and the Sydney Hebrew Congregation, were among the new subscribers that the appeal secured. The West London Synagogue of British Jews contributed various sums from time to time. The United Synagogue was voting £200 a year, and in 1903 it was induced by the advocacy of Mr. ADOLPH TUCK, the new Treasurer, to increase its vote to £300. In that year, it may be men-

tioned, four ex-students of the College — the Rev. MICHAEL ADLER, B. A., the Rev. D. WASSERZUG, B. A., the Rev. HARRIS COHEN, and the Rev. WALTER LEVIN — had become Ministers of the United Synagogue. An effort was, indeed, made to raise the United Synagogue's subsidy to £500. It proved abortive, and to compensate Jews' College for its disappointment an anonymous member of the Council generously came forward with an extra donation of £200. By the death of CHARLES SAMUEL the College lost an annual donation of £200. Part of this loss was, however, made good by the establishment of a Charles Samuel Memorial Subscription Fund, which realized subscriptions amounting to £120 a year. The trustees of the Judith Lady Montefiore College continued their munificent grant from year to year. Mr. DAVID DAVIS, of Blackheath, was contributing annually £50 to the Endowment Fund which he had initiated. In the course of 1902 Mr. ELLIS A. FRANKLIN, an old friend of the College, placed £300 at the disposal of the Council for the purpose of founding, in memory of his deceased wife, an "ADELAIDE FRANKLIN Prize" for "proficiency in the knowledge of Hebrew and the tenets of the Jewish Religion". Nevertheless the need of placing the College on a firmer financial basis was shown by recurring deficits. The approaching Jubilee suggested itself as a propitious opportunity for making a vigorous effort in this direction.

Attention must now be directed to various changes and developments in the educational administration of the institution. The retirement of Mr. ISRAEL ABRAHAMS from the post of Senior Tutor, on his appointment as Reader in Rabbinic and Talmudic Literature at the University of Cambridge, in 1902, besides severing a family connection with the College which had extended back to 1858, was a



severe blow to the institution, from which it has not yet recovered. It necessitated a rearrangement of the teaching duties. Additional responsibilities now devolved on Dr. HIRSCH, Dr. HIRSCHFELD, and Mr. KILNER. For a time Mr. ABRAHAMS continued to act as Teacher of Homiletics, but on resigning this position also, he was temporarily succeeded by the Rev. Dayan HYAMSON. The appointment was now made an annual one. Mr. HYAMSON was succeeded by the Rev. A. A. GREEN, and Mr. GREEN was followed by the Rev. Dr. GOLLANCZ. In 1903 the teaching of French at Jews' College was discontinued, this subject being no longer essentially required for the Arts examinations of the London University. The Council were thus compelled "to their great regret", to dispense with the services of Mr. ANTOINE, who for thirty-five years had discharged the duties of French Teacher with conscientious ability. Mr. S. L. HASLUCK had taught Elocution at Jews' College since 1889, in which year he succeeded Mr. J. L. OHLSON. On retiring, in 1904, he was succeeded by Dr. H. H. HULBERT, B.A. The teachers of Chazanuth for many years past had been the Rev. ISAAC SAMUEL and the Rev. F. L. COHEN. At the commencement of 1904 Mr. SAMUEL resigned, after nearly twenty years of service, the Rev. J. L. GEFFEN being appointed Mr. COHEN's colleague. Mr. COHEN also retired from office in the course of 1904, after seventeen years of service, on his appointment to the position of Chief Minister of the Sydney Congregation.

In July, 1902, a Special Committee, consisting of Dr. BARNETT, Dr. EICHHOLZ, and Messrs. AUGUSTUS KAHN and M. E. LANGE, and designated the "Visiting Committee", was nominated "to investigate and to report upon the operation of the teaching" and cognate matters. The Report which they issued in the course of the following year, and which was adopted by the Council, is too lengthy to repro-

duce *in extenso*; but the most important section, that relating to the "Arrangement of Courses of Study", is here given in part:—

"The normal course of studies to be pursued at the College shall be divided into four periods, viz:—

I. A period of instruction in the *Preparatory Class* leading up to—

**A First Theological Examination**, after which the successful Pupil shall enter upon—

II. A period of two years in the *Junior Students' Class*, leading up to—

**A Second Theological Examination**, after which the successful Student shall enter upon—

III. A period of two years in the *Senior Students' Class*, leading up to—

**A Third Theological Examination**, after which the successful Student may enter upon—

IV. A period of about two-and-a-half years in the *Upper Senior (Rabbinical Diploma) Class*, leading up to—

**A Fourth Theological Examination**, entitling the successful Student to the *Rabbinical Diploma*.

*Note.* — It is desirable (but not imperative) that *pari passu* with these examinations the Students and Pupils should pass successively the Matriculation, Intermediate Arts, and further Examinations of the University.

The following titles shall be conferred as a result of the above Theological Examinations:

I. The title of *Associate of Jews' College*, to be granted to Students who shall have passed the Third Theological Examination and likewise graduated at a University.

II. The title of *Fellow of Jews' College*, to be granted to Students obtaining the Rabbinical Diploma.

*Note.* — The title of *Probationer* is hereby abolished.

In connection with these alterations, the Rev. A. CHAIKIN, Minister of the Federation of Synagogues, was appointed to give private instruction in advanced Talmud and Posekim to the students of the Rabbinical Diploma Class.

## X.

## PROGRESS OF THE STUDENTS.

What has hitherto been recorded of the College since it became located in Queen Square House bears reference to the efforts that were being made for the training of its students. A more important chapter than any that has preceded remains to be written. We have now to tell what the students themselves were doing to answer the expectations of their friends. The last six years of the internal history of the College show clear signs of evolution and progress. The attainment of University and Collegiate honours was becoming more general. Not in Hebrew and Semitics only, but in general studies also, the *alumni* of Jews' College were now holding their own with the students of other institutions.

In 1900 Mr. HENRY SNOWMAN, who became an "Associate" of Jews' College, graduated at the University of London, besides taking a First Class Prize in Senior German at University College. One student passed the Intermediate Arts, and three students matriculated. B. I. COHEN gained the Hollier Hebrew Scholarship, and several honours were awarded in English Language and Literature, Philosophy of Mind, and Logic. Mr. MAURICE SIMON, B.A., obtained the "Fellowship" Certificate of Jews' College.

The following year, seven students matriculate, and two pass the Intermediate Arts examination. The Hollier Hebrew Scholarship is won by D. MANN (Manchevsky), and numerous other distinctions are gained at University College. J. DANGLOW

takes a First Class Certificate in Logic, with marks qualifying for a Prize; J. K. LEVIN a Second Class Certificate in Senior Greek, a Third Class Certificate in Senior Latin, and a Second Class Certificate in Higher Senior French. Mr. R. TRIBICH takes certificates in English Language and Literature, Logic, and Modern History.

In 1902 Mr. D. MANN graduated at the University of London, and one student took the Intermediate Arts examination. J. HOCHMAN gained the Hollier Hebrew Scholarship, and Certificates of Honour were awarded in Logic to H. GOODMAN (First Class, with marks qualifying for a Prize), H. LAZARUS, A. TURNER and I. STATMAN; and to J. DANGLOW in Psychology and Ethics. The "Associateship" Certificate of Jews' College was awarded to J. K. LEVIN.

The following year six students passed the Intermediate Arts at the University of London, and three matriculated. The Hollier Hebrew Scholarship was awarded to H. SANDHEIM. Several other distinctions were gained at University College: D. POOL, the Andrew Scholarship in Classics, the Latin Prize, the French Prize, the Certificate in Greek, with marks qualifying for a Prize, etc.; H. LAZARUS, the Greek Prize, the German Prize, Certificate in Latin, with marks qualifying for a Prize, etc.; H. GOODMAN, the Logic Prize, etc., etc.; BARNETT GOLDSTEIN, Second Class Certificate in Greek; J. HOCHMAN, First Class Certificate in Hebrew, and Third Class Certificates in Logic, Greek, and French; E. LEVENE, First Class Certificate in Greek, with marks qualifying for a Prize. Certificates in Greek, Latin, French, Logic: A. TURNER, J. STATMAN, H. SANDHEIM, and S. NEWMAN. The "Associateship" Certificate of Jews' College was awarded to B. I. COHEN, ISRAEL COHEN, J. DANGLOW, and D. MANN. The Report for this year takes note of the gratifying fact that at the June Sessional Exam-



ination at University College, "Students of Jews College carried off all the prizes in the classes of which they were members".

The Report for 1904 is more gratifying still. Four students (BARNETT I. COHEN, ISRAEL COHEN, HARRIS M. LAZARUS, and JACOB K. LEVIN) passed the B.A. with Honours; six students passed the Intermediate Arts, and three students matriculated. The Hollier Hebrew Scholarship fell to BENZION HALPER and DAVID POOL, and numerous Certificates of Honour were gained at Gower Street in English, Latin, Greek, German, French, Hebrew, Semitic Epigraphy, and Logic. This year, for the first time, the University of London held the B.A. Honours Examination in Hebrew and Aramaic. All the candidates for this examination were students of the College, and all of them were successful.

Coming to 1905, the last year to be noted in this record, the results show an improvement even on those of the former year. The Jubilee year of Jews' College is worthily signalized by the largest number of successes at the University of London ever gained. Five students presented themselves at the B.A. Examination (BARNETT GOLDSTEIN, JOSEPH HOCHMANN, DAVID POOL, ISIDORE STATMAN and ABRAHAM TURNER), and all passed with Honours.

The distinctions for this year, ending November 10th, on which date the College had completed its half a century of existence, may now be set forth as follows:—

### GRADUATES.

DAVID POOL, B.A. Honours, First-Class. First Class Certificate in Hebrew; First Class Certificate in Semitic Epigraphy.

BARNETT GOLDSTEIN, B.A. Honours, Second Class.

JOSEPH HOCHMANN, B.A. Honours, Second Class.



ISIDORE STATMAN, B. A. Honours, Second Class.

ABRAHAM TURNER, B. A. Honours, Third Class.

## UNDERGRADUATES.

### *A. Senior Students.*

ABRAHAM COHEN, Hebrew Hollier Scholarship (University College).

BENZION HALPER, Intermediate Arts (University of London).  
Greek, First Class Certificate; Latin, Second Class Certificate; German, First Class Certificate and Second Prize; Logic, Second Class Certificate; Hebrew Second Class Certificate (University College).

HERBERT J. SANDHEIM, Third Class Certificate, Semitic Epigraphy (University College).

### *B. Junior Students.*

ABRAHAM I. CLARKE, Third Class Certificate in Latin, Greek, and Ancient History (University College).

EMANUEL DRUKKER, Matriculation (University of London).

DAVID I. HIRSCH, First Class Certificate and First Prize in German; Third Class Certificate in Ancient History (University College).

JACOB S. SACKIER, Third Class Certificate in Ancient History (University College).

This record of scholastic successes is, however, far from giving a complete picture of the students' activities during the period under review. While fitting themselves to become ministers and teachers, the senior students were also rendering service to the community in various capacities. The Report for 1901 notes that at the Autumn Festivals seventeen students officiated in the Metropolis and the Provinces, and that the Principal received many letters of

thanks for their services. In 1902. Mr. R. TRIBICH is appointed Minister of the Bradford Hebrew Congregation, and fifteen students give their services to synagogues at the Autumn Festivals. The following year presents a similar record, and in 1904 seventeen students are officiating. In 1905, the number is nineteen. And during this year three students have assumed office, Mr. J. DANGLOW being appointed Minister of the St. Kilda Congregation, Melbourne, Mr. H. M. LAZARUS, B.A., Minister of the Brondesbury Congregation, and Mr. HYMAN GOODMAN, Minister of the Hanley Congregation. Thus have the benefits of Jews' College been extended in a single year alike to London, the Provinces and the Colonies.

## XI.

CLOSING OF ARIA COLLEGE. — APPOINTMENT OF DR. BÜCHLER. — THE APPROACHING JUBILEE. — THE COLLEGE AS CONSTITUTED AT THE END OF FIFTY YEARS.

By a noteworthy coincidence it happens that the Jubilee year of Jews' College has witnessed the temporary closing of Aria College, Portsea, which suspended its operations in September, 1905, after thirty years' activity. Aria College was founded by the will of LEWIS ARIA, a native of Hampshire, who endowed it with a sum of £25,000, and directed that the College should be erected at Portsea for the training of natives of Hampshire for the Jewish ministry. For many years past — ever since 1882 — the Trustees of Aria College have been sending their most promising students, who had matriculated, to pursue their further studies at Jews' College, under an arrangement by which they provided for the maintenance of the students, and paid the College fees or a portion thereof. The Revs. JOSEPH F. STERN, WALTER LEVIN, B. N. MICHELSON, B.A., and H. GOODMAN are all Jews' College students who





Dr. A. BUCHLER



Dr. H. HIRSCHFELD

received their early education at Aria College. At the present time three students are preparing for graduation under this arrangement at Jews' College, which is thus the only institution in the United Kingdom that survives for the training of Jewish ministers.

Early in 1905 the Visiting Committee, to which reference has already been made, recommended that the Council should appoint a Chief Assistant to the Principal, who was to devote his whole time to the work of the College. He was to possess a thorough mastery of Semitic and especially Talmudic Scholarship, he was to be a graduate of a University of recognized standing, and a holder of the Rabbinical Diploma, and he was to profess adherence to the principles and practices of traditional Judaism. The recommendation was adopted, and after interviewing several candidates for the position, the Council's choice has ultimately fallen on Prof. ADOLF BÜCHLER, of Vienna, who will assume office in the summer of 1906.

Dr. BÜCHLER (we take these particulars from the "Jewish Encyclopaedia" and the Jubilee History of the Breslau Seminary) was born October 18, 1867, at Priekopa, in Hungary. In 1887 he commenced his theological studies at the Budapest Seminary, at the same time pursuing his University studies under GOLDZIER and KARMAN. During the years 1889-1890, he studied at the Breslau Seminary, and in the latter year he graduated as Ph.D. at the Leipsic University. His Doctorate dissertation, "Zur Entstehung der Hebräischen Accente" was afterwards published in the "Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften" of 1891. Returning to Budapest to complete his theological studies, he was ordained Rabbi in 1892. Then, at Oxford, he worked for a year in the Bodleian Library, under the direction of his uncle, Dr. NEUBAUER, and it was while he was so engaged that he contributed an essay to the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for 1893



on "The Reading of the Law and Prophets in a Triennial Cycle" which established his reputation both as a Massoretic scholar and an original thinker. That year he accepted a call as instructor to the Vienna Jewish Theological Seminary, a position which he has held down to the present time. His other writings, most of them dealing with the last days of the Second Temple, and which "have attracted much attention on account of their originality", include "Die Priester und der Cultus im Letzten Jahrzehnt des Tempelbestandes", "Die Tobiaden und Oniaden im II Makkabäerbuche", "Das Grosse Synhedrion in Jerusalem und das Beth-Din in der Quaderkammer des Jerusalemischen Tempels", "The Sources of Josephus for the History of Syria" (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, IX), "The Fore-Court of Women and the Brass Gate in the Temple of Jerusalem" (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, X), and various contributions to the *Monatsschrift*, the *Revue des Études Juives*, and other learned periodicals.

One other change has to be recorded. At the end of the Jubilee year, Mr. HENRY H. HYAMS was impelled by the state of his health to resign the post of Secretary, which he had filled with much devotion for nearly 32 years. The following Resolution gives expression to the Council's sentiments towards this respected official: —

That the Council have received with feelings of great regret the resignation of Mr. HENRY H. HYAMS of the post of Secretary, which he has held with so much credit to himself, and such great advantage to the Institution, for a period of more than thirty years.

Apart from the discharge of his purely secretarial duties, his deep interest in the welfare of the Institution has been exhibited in so many ways that the Council feel that his withdrawal deprives them not only of a most conscientious official but likewise of the support of an earnest friend. They deplore the cause of Mr. HYAMS' retirement, but they sincerely hope that he will regain his health and strength for the benefit of himself and for the advantage of the many communal institutions which he has so zealously served."

Mr. HYAMS continues in office until the Jubilee celebration

in June next, when he will be succeeded by Mr. ALBERT M. HYAMSON.

The approaching Jubilee of Jews' College had occupied the attention of the Council since the beginning of 1905. It was felt that so important an occasion should be worthily commemorated, and the Council decided, in the first instance, upon the establishment of a Jubilee Endowment Fund, an appeal for which has been issued to English-speaking Jews at home and abroad. In connection with this appeal, a banquet was arranged to take place on the 13th June, 1906, at which Lord ROTHSCHILD has promised to preside. Finally, it was decided to celebrate the Jubilee from a literary point of view by the publication of a Jubilee volume, containing a history of the institution from its inception to the present day, together with contributions from past and present teachers and past students of the College on matters of interest pertaining to Jewish History and Literature.

In the opening pages of this record there were set forth the names of the original Council of the College and its earliest officials. The following table exhibits the Honorary and other Officers of the Institution at the end of fifty years.

## HONORARY OFFICERS.

### The Council.

#### President and Chairman of the Council.

The Very Rev. Dr. ADLER, Chief Rabbi.

#### Vice-President.

Sir EDWARD SASSOON, Bart., M. P.

#### Treasurers.

JAMES H. SOLOMON. | ADOLPH TUCK.

#### Hon. Secretary.

Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN.

M. N. ADLER, M.A.  
 D. L. ALEXANDER, K.C.  
 Dr. L. D. BARNETT.  
 \*JUDAH BENOLIEL.  
 HERBERT BENTWICH, L.L.B.  
 \*PERCY M. CASTELLO.  
 Rev. A. CHAIKIN.  
 R. WALEY COHEN.  
 ARTHUR DAVIS.  
 ISRAEL DAVIS, M.A.  
 Dr. A. EICHHOLZ.  
 Rev. DAYAN A. FELDMAN, B.A.  
 ARTHUR E. FRANKLIN.  
 †ELLIS A. FRANKLIN.  
 HENRY A. FRANKLIN.  
 Rev. Prof. H. GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.LIT.  
 \*FRED. B. HALFORD.  
 CHARLES S. HENRY, M.P.  
 Rev. DAYAN M. HYAMSON, B.A., LL.B.

HENRY HYMANS.  
 \*JUDAH D. ISRAEL, M.A., LL.D.  
 S. JAPHET.  
 DELISSA JOSEPH F.R.I.B.A.  
 AUGUSTUS KAHN, M.A.  
 M. E. LANGE, M.A.  
 \*JOSHUA M. LEVY.  
 \*EUSTACE A. LINDO.  
 \*GABRIEL LINDO.  
 Sir PHILIP MAGNUS, B.A., B.SC., M.P.  
 \*E. L. MOCATTA.  
 CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE, M.A.  
 \*EDMUND SEBAG MONTEFIORE.  
 †SAMUEL MOSES, ESQ., M.A.  
 SAML. S. OPPENHEIM.  
 \*A. H. PINTO.  
 J. PRAG, J.P.  
 REV. S. SINGER.  
 †Dr. J. SNOWMAN, B.A.

\*Representatives of the Elders of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue.  
 †Representatives of the United Synagogue.

#### Education Committee.

The Very Rev. Dr. ADLER, Chief Rabbi.

M. N. ADLER, M.A.  
 Dr. L. D. BARNETT.  
 Rev. JOHN CHAPMAN.  
 Dr. EICHHOLZ.  
 Rev. DAYAN A. FELDMAN, B.A.  
 Rev. Prof. H. GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.LIT.  
 Rev. DAYAN M. HYAMSON, B.A., LL.B.

JUDAH D. ISRAEL, M.A., LL.D.  
 AUGUSTUS KAHN, M.A.  
 E. L. MOCATTA.  
 CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE, M.A.  
 Sir EDWARD SASSOON, BART., M.P.  
 JAMES H. SOLOMON.  
 Dr. J. SNOWMAN, B.A.  
 ADOLPH TUCK.

Rev. S. SINGER, *Hon. Sec.*

#### Library Committee.

The HON. OFFICERS and

M. N. ADLER, M.A.  
 Dr. L. D. BARNETT.  
 S. I. COHEN.

ARTHUR DAVIS.  
 M. FRIEDLANDER, PH.D.  
 JUDAH D. ISRAEL, M.A., LL.D.

**Hon. Architect.** — DELISSA JOSEPH, F.R.I.B.A.

**Hon. Medical Officer.**

A. COHEN, M.A., M.D. 67, Warrington Crescent, Maida Hill.

**Honorary Solicitors.** — MESSRS. WATKIN WILLIAMS, GRAY & STEEL.

**Auditors.**

HERBERT M. BEDDINGTON. | ALFRED HENRY, F.C.A.

**Secretary.** — HENRY H. HYAMS.

## OFFICERS OF THE INSTITUTION.

**Principal.** — M. FRIEDLÄNDER, PH.D.

**Theological Tutor.** — S. A. HIRSCH, PH.D.

**Masters.**

Mr. G. WASHINGTON KILNER, M.A. (Classics).

HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M.R.A.S. (Semitic Languages).

Rev. A. CHAIKIN (Advanced Talmud and Posekim).

Rev. Dr. GOLLANCZ (Homiletics).

Rev. J. L. GEFFEN (Chazanuth).

Dr. H. H. HULBERT, B.A. (Elocution).

**Librarian.** — M. FRIEDLÄNDER, PH.D.

**Sub-Librarian.** — HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D., M.R.A.S.

## XII.

## CONCLUSION.

Our story of Jews' College has reached its end. To many readers of these pages what the institution has accomplished in the course of half a century will probably have come as something of a revelation. From a day of small and discouraging beginnings it has steadily made its way in public confidence, triumphing over difficulties of no ordinary magnitude, conquering prejudice and apathy, attracting to its support every section of the community, and becoming the great training-ground of the Anglo-Jewish pulpit. From its portals have gone forth men of zeal and ability who, as preachers and teachers and writers, have diffused the light of religious learning throughout the British Empire and among not a few communities of America. The particulars are given in the Appendix which follows. It is a record to which such an institution may point with satisfaction. Jews' College has proved itself not merely useful but indispensable; so indispensable, indeed, that it is hard to imagine the condition of the Anglo-Jewish community if no such Seminary had been called into existence. Genius would,

somehow, always have made its way to the front, exceptional enthusiasm must have asserted itself; but a native ministry, in any real sense, there could not have been; and pulpits, if they had multiplied as they have done during the past fifty years, would have had to be almost entirely recruited from foreign sources. As a consequence, congregations would have been alienated. With the growth of culture among the general body of English Jews, the Synagogue must have lost much of the influence it once possessed. And other institutions — schools, charities, literary and learned bodies — would have suffered in lesser degree. Such a state of things would have been found intolerable. It is almost inconceivable, because long before matters had reached this pass the demand for a training college for Jewish ministers would have been too insistent to be disregarded. The conviction would have forced itself on our communal leaders that without an educated English ministry English synagogues could not be upheld.

Thanks, however, to the far-sighted policy of the late Chief Rabbi, thanks, moreover, to the public-spirited co-operation of such men as Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, Sir GEORGE JESSEL, JACOB FRANKLIN, HENRY SOLOMON, and the Rev. A. L. GREEN, such possibilities were averted. Jews' College came into being in the early fifties, and a few years later into actual operation. It may be said to have been launched upon a sea of difficulties, for it was started without any endowment, like that which helped to establish the FRAENCKEL Seminary at Breslau and many a similar flourishing institution. From the outset it has had largely to depend upon the assistance extended to it from year to year by the community it was serving. That assistance, as we have seen, has nearly always proved inadequate to its growing responsibilities. The burden of anxiety thus imposed upon its President and Treasurers has been formidable in the extreme. In and out of



season they have been constrained to plead with the community for a fuller recognition of the claims of a ministerial college. But the difficulties are gradually diminishing. After fifty years of existence, a commemorative Endowment Fund is to be established which, if the hopes of its promoters are realized, will go far to render Jews' College independent for the future of such undignified appeals.

This future, to which we now turn, opens up a vista of far-reaching, even fascinating, possibilities. The fifty years that have elapsed since the foundation of Jews' College — one-fifth of the whole period during which Jews have been resettled in the United Kingdom — is, after all, but a small fraction of the life of a community. The institution is probably only at the threshold of a career which future historians will reckon by centuries. Sooner or later, the College, as the foremost representative of Jewish learning in England, will take its place as an integral constituent of the University of London, its teachers ranking as University professors, its theological diplomas as University degrees. This and much else accomplished, is it beyond the bounds of likelihood, that an Anglo-Jewish Seminary may succeed in so impressing its achievements upon the progress of Biblical and Rabbinic learning that it will prove no unworthy successor of the great Academies of the past — of Jabnia, Sepphoris, and Tiberias, Nehardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha? No one, at least, will deny that what the College has accomplished hitherto is as nothing to what it is capable hereafter of accomplishing, if an enlightened community will appreciatively rally to its support. In saying this we have in view something more important than money. "I ask", said the Chief Rabbi at the inaugural ceremony of May 6, 1900, "not for funds, but for lives". The community of English Jews must endow the Seminary of the future with the necessary human material

of which it has hitherto been so grudging. If the Jewish ministry of coming generations is to be an improvement on its predecessors, it should no longer be drawn from a single class. Every section of society must contribute of its best. To bring this about the ministerial career will have to be regarded — it is coming to be so recognized in the United States of America — as no less honourable and advantageous than other professions. Till now the training of English Ministers has suffered grievously from the lack of this recognition. The future of Jews' College thus rests with the community, but the community's future is even more dependent upon that of Jews' College. By the calibre of the men that shall issue forth from the institution to expound the Word of God, the status of Anglo-Jewry will be judged from without, its usefulness will be determined from within: —

Istuc est sapere, non quod ante pedes modo est  
Videre, sed etiam illa quae futura sunt  
Prospicere. —

TERENTIUS, *Adelphi*, III, 3, 32.

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## APPENDIX I.

### PARTICULARS OF PAST STUDENTS WHO HOLD OR HAVE Held MINISTERIAL OR ACADEMICAL POSITIONS.

[The subjoined compilation is intended to give the reader a general idea of the results achieved by Jews' College, as apart from Jews' College School. It makes no claim to completeness, or to more than approximate accuracy, it not having been found practicable to follow in detail the careers of the many students who have passed through the College in the course of fifty years. Those who have embraced other callings than that of Minister or Teacher of Hebrew and Religion are not included.]

**Aarons, Rev. Isaac.** — Minister, Merthyr Tydvil Congregation (appointed 1906). Formerly: Teacher, Wolverhampton Hebrew School; Headmaster, Manchester Talmud Torah; and Headmaster, Sheffield Hebrew School.

**Abelson, Rev. J., B.A.** — Minister, Bristol Congregation (appointed 1899). Headmaster, Bristol Hebrew School. Born, Merthyr Tydvil, 1873. Associate of Jews' College, 1893. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University College, 1893. Certificates of Honour, University College — Early English, 1893; Logic, Anglo-Saxon and English Literature, 1894. B.A. University of London, 1894. Minister, Cardiff Congregation, 1895—1899.

*Publications:* Sermons.

**Abrahams, Israel, M.A.** — Reader in Rabbinic and Talmudic Literature, University of Cambridge (appointed 1902). Member of the Special Board of Oriental Studies, Cambridge. Lay Preacher. Born, London, 1858. First Prizeman, Logic and Philosophy of Mind, University College, 1880. Certificates of Honour, 1880, 1881. Prizeman, First Hebrew and Scriptural Examination, University of London, 1881. M.A., Philosophy and Political Economy, University of London, 1881. M.A. Cambridge, *Honoris Causa*, 1902. Teacher of English and Mathematics, Jews' College, 1881—1899; Senior Tutor, 1899—1903; Teacher of Homiletics, 1894—1903. Lecturer in Hebrew, King's College, London (Teachers' Classes, Jewish Religions Education Board). President, Jewish Historical Society, 1904—5. Curator of *Orientalia*, University Library, Cambridge, 1906. First President of Union of Jewish Literary Societies. Introduced into England the Yellin method of teaching Hebrew.

*Publications:* "Aspects of Judaism" (joint author); "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages"; "Chapters in Jewish Literature"; "Hebrew Lessons" (joint author); "Maimonides" (joint author); "Festival Studies"; *Jewish Quarterly Review* (joint editor); contributions to *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (Member of Foreign Board of Consulting Editors), Cheyne & Black's *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, *Transactions of Jewish Historical Society*, and various periodicals; bibliographical articles in *American Jewish Year Book*, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and *Jewish Chronicle*.

**Abrahams, Rev. Joseph, M.A., Ph.D.** — Minister, Melbourne Hebrew Congregation (appointed 1883), and President, Jewish Ecclesiastical Board of Victoria. Born, London, 1855. B.A., London; M.A., Melbourne; Ph. D., Leipzig. Received the Rabbinical Diploma at the Rabbinical Seminary of Dr. HILDESHEIMER, Berlin.

*Publications:* "On the Sources of Medrash Echah"; sermons and lectures.

**Abrahams, Rev. Moses, B.A.** — Minister, Old Hebrew Congregation, Leeds (appointed 1887). Born, London, 1860. Certificate of Honour, University College, Logic and Psychology, 1881. B.A., University of London, 1882. First Hebrew and Scripture Examination, University of London, 1883. Hebrew Head Teacher, Stepney Jewish Schools, 1884—1887.

*Publications:* Art. "Leeds" in *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

**Adler, Rev. Michael, B.A.** — Minister, Central Synagogue (appointed 1903). Jewish Chaplain to H. M. Military and Naval Forces, and Brigade Staff-Chaplain, Jewish Lads' Brigade (appointed 1905). Lecturer, Teachers' Classes, Toynbee Hall. Born, London, 1868. B.A. Honours, University of London, 1888. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University College, 1888. Prizeman, First Hebrew and Scriptural Examination, University of London, 1890. Further Scriptural Examination, 1891. Fellow of Jews' College, 1900. Minister, Hammersmith Synagogue, 1890—1903. Senior Hebrew Master, Jews' Free School, 1893—1903.

*Publications:* "First Steps in Hebrew Grammar"; "Elements of Hebrew Grammar"; "Students' Hebrew Grammar"; "History of the Central Synagogue"; contributions to *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society*; sermons and lectures.

**Adler, Rev. S. Alfred.** — Minister, Hammersmith Synagogue (appointed 1904). Born, London, 1876. Certificates of Honour, University College — History, English Literature, Anglo-Saxon, Junior Latin, 1895, 1896; Logic, English, Ancient and Modern History, 1899. Minister, Liverpool New Hebrew Congregation, 1901—1904. Previously, Visiting Minister of the Reading Congregation.

*Publications:* Sermons and lectures; contributions to the Jewish press.

**Bensky, Rev. M.** — Minister, Hanley Congregation 1901—1905. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University College, 1897. Certificates of Honour, University College, English and English Literature, 1898, 1899, 1900.

**Berliner, Rev. B.** — Minister, St. Johns' Wood Synagogue (appointed 1878). Born, London, 1848. Headmaster, Borough Jewish School, 1867—1870. Minister, Bristol Congregation, 1870—1878.



**Chapman, Rev. Edward Maurice D.D.** — Rabbi, Congregation Shaarai Shamayim, Schenectady, N. Y., U. S. A. (appointed 1900). Congregation Beth Israel, Hartford, Conn., 1878—1880. Temple Israel, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1880—1885. Temple Emanuel, Dallas, Texas, 1885—1897.

**Chapman, Rev. John.** — Principal, Great Ealing School. Hon. Secretary, Jews' College. Born, London, 1846. 1st. B.A., University of London. Assistant Master, Jews' College 1866—1867. Assistant Minister, Western Synagogue, 1867—1868. Head Master, Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum, 1868—1878.

**Chodowsky, Rev. A. T.** — Minister, Dunedin (N. Z.) Hebrew Congregation. Born, Posen, 1863. Formerly: Minister, Leicester Congregation; Christchurch (N. Z.) Congregation; and Brisbane Congregation.

**Cohen, Rev. Francis Lyon.** — Chief Minister, Sydney Hebrew Congregation, and President of the Beth Din, New South Wales (appointed 1905); Born Aldershot, 1862. Certificate of Honour, Early English, University College, 1882. Intermediate Arts, University of London, 1883. Intermediate B. Mus., 1883. Minister, Dublin Hebrew Congregation, 1885—1886. Borough New Synagogue, 1886—1905. Tutor of Chazanuth, Jews' College, 1886—1904. Jewish Chaplain to H. M. Military Forces, and Brigade Staff-Chaplain, Jewish Lads' Brigade, from the institution of these offices till 1905. Received Rabbinical Diploma, 1905.

*Publications:* "Voice of Prayer and Praise" (editor); various compilations of Synagogue Music; articles on Synagogue Music in *Jewish Encyclopaedia* and other publications; sermons and lectures.

**Cohen, Rev. Harris.** — Minister, Stoke Newington Synagogue (appointed 1903). Born 1869. Received early education at Manchester Jews' School. Minister, Nottingham Hebrew Congregation, and Lecturer, Nottingham University, 1890—1903. Sometime Minister of Merthyr Congregation and Visiting Minister to Hanley and Derby Hebrew Congregations. Superintendent, St. Stephen's School, Quaker Street.

*Publications:* Judaica in the general press.

**Cohen, Rev. M. I., B.A.** — Minister, Bulawayo Hebrew Congregation (appointed 1899). Andrew Scholar, University College, 1896. Prizeman, Junior Modern History, 1896. Certificate of Honour, Mental and Moral Philosophy, 1897. Associate Jews' College, 1898. B.A. University of London, 1899.

**Cohen, Rev. Montague N. A.** — Rabbi, Congregation Beth Israel, Tacoma, Washington, U. S. A. Formerly: Minister Victoria Congregation, British Columbia (elected 1901); and Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Israel, Sacramento, California. Born, London, 1877. Certificate of Honour, History, University College, 1899.

**Cohn, Ephraim.** — Head-Master, Jerusalem Von Lämmel School and Orphan Asylum (appointed 1887).

**Danglow, Rev. Jacob.** — Minister, St. Kilda Congregation (appointed 1905). Born 1880. Intermediate Arts, University of London, 1901. Certificates of Honour, University College, Logic, Psychology and Ethics, 1902. Associate Jews' College, 1903. Lecturer, Teachers' Classes, Toynbee Hall, 1903—1905.



**Davis, Rev. M. E.** — Minister, Middlesboro' Synagogue (appointed 1888), and Visiting Minister of the Congregations of West Hartlepool and Stockton-on-Tees. Formerly Visiting Minister of the Darlington Congregation. Honour Certificate, English Literature, University College.

**Elzas, Rev. Barnett Abraham, B.A.** — Rabbi, Beth Elohim Congregation, Charleston, South Carolina (appointed 1894). Born, Eydtkuhnen, Germany, 1867. Hollier Scholar in Hebrew, University College, 1886. Associate Jews' College, 1889. B.A., University of Toronto, 1893. Minister of Holy Blossom Synagogue, Toronto, 1890—1893; Sacramento Congregation, California, 1893—1894. Graduate of Medicine and Pharmacy, Medical College of the State of South Carolina, 1900—1901.

*Publications:* "The Sabbath School Companion"; "Judaism: an Exposition"; "The History of K. K. Beth Elohim, Charleston"; "The Jews of South Carolina".

**Esterson, Rev. W.** — Minister, Hambro' Synagogue (appointed 1899). Born, Edinburgh, 1872. Received early education at Jews' Free School. Minister, North-West London Synagogue, 1894—1899.

**Feldman, Rev. Asher, B.A.** — Dayan and Rabbi of the United Synagogue (appointed 1902). Born in Russia, 1873. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University of London, 1895. Fellow of Jews' College, 1896. Received Rabbinical Diploma, 1899. Minister, Stoke Newington Congregation, 1899—1902. Sometime: Senior Master of Hebrew and Religion, Jews' Infant Schools; Organizer of, and Lecturer to, Teachers' Classes, Toynbee Hall and Jews' College; and Director of Studies, New Dalston Synagogue Schools.

*Publications:* Historical Syllabuses (Jewish Study Society); contributions to *Jewish Quarterly Review*; sermons and lectures.

**Freedman, Rev. D. I. B.A.** — Minister Perth Congregation, Western Australia (appointed 1897). Born, Buda-Pesth, 1874. Received early education at Jews' Free School. B.A., University of London, 1894. Honoursman in Senior Mathematics, University College, 1894.

*Publications:* Art. "Australia" in *Jewish Encyclopaedia*; *Children's Hospital Magazine* (editor); *The Craftsman* (editor).

**Friedlander, Rev. Gerald.** — Minister, Western Synagogue (appointed 1897). Born, London, 1871. Teacher of Hebrew, University College School (appointed 1899). Intermediate Arts, University of London, 1893. Certificate of Honour, Mental and Moral Philosophy, University College, 1896.

**Friedländer, Rev. Joseph.** — Rabbi, Congregation Emanuel, Beaumont, Texas, U. S. A. Formerly, Reader and Preacher, St. Kilda Congregation, and Minister of North West London Synagogue. Born, Edinburgh, 1855.

**Goldstein, Rev. S. A.** — Minister, Auckland (N. Z.) Hebrew Congregation (appointed 1880). Formerly: Master, W. Hartlepool Hebrew School; Middlesboro'-on-Tees Jewish School; Minister Toowoomba (Queensland) Congregation; West Maitland (New South Wales) Congregation. Born, London, 1853.

**Gollancz, Rev. Prof. Hermann, M.A., D. Lit.** — Minister, Bayswater Synagogue (appointed 1892). Goldsmid Professor of Hebrew, University College (appointed 1902). Formerly: Minister, St. John's Wood Synagogue; New Synagogue; South Manchester Synagogue; and Dalston Synagogue. Born, Germany, 1852. M.A., University of London, German, Hebrew and Syriac, 1889. Hon. Secretary, International Congress of Orientalists, London, (Semitic Section) 1891. Received Rabbinical Diploma, 1897. Doctor of Literature, Hebrew, 1899. Delegate of University of London at International Congress of Orientalists, Rome, 1899. President, Jewish Historical Society, 1905—6. Lecturer on Homiletics at Jews' College, 1905—6.

*Publications:* "Ethical Treatises of Berachya"; "Clavicula Salomonis"; "Selections of Charms from Syriac MSS."; "Further Selections of Charms from Syriac MSS."; Translations into English of "Syriac Version of Sindban" and "Aramaic Targum on the Amidah"; "Anglican Version of Bible for Use in Jewish Families" (editor); contributions to reviews and *Transactions of Jewish Historical Society*; sermons and lectures.

**Goodman, Rev. Hyman** — Minister, Hanley Congregation (appointed 1905). Formerly Assistant Chaplain, Wormwood Scrubbs Prison. Born, Portsmouth. Received early education at Aria College and Portsmouth Grammar School. Intermediate Arts, University of London, 1903. Prizeman in Logic, University College, 1905.

**Gouldstein, Rev. Julius A.** (the late) — Minister, North London Synagogue, 1881—1902. Chaplain, Newgate, Holloway and Pentonville Prisons. Chaplain, Berner-street Company, Jewish Lads' Brigade. Born, Australia, 1858. Received early education at Jerusalem Yeshiba. Sometime Teacher at Shaaré Tikvah School and Stepney Jewish Schools.

**Green, Rev. A. A.** — Minister, Hampstead Synagogue (appointed 1892). Born, London, 1860. Minister, Sheffield Congregation, 1884—1888; Sunderland Congregation, 1888—1892. Lecturer on Homiletics at Jews' College 1904—5.

*Publications:* "Revised Hagadah"; sermons and lectures.

**Harris, Rev. Isidore, M.A.** — Minister, West London Synagogue of British Jews (appointed 1881). Minister, North London Synagogue, 1874—1881. Born, London, 1853. M.A., Philosophy and Political Economy, University of London. First Prizeman, Logic and Philosophy of Mind, University College.

*Publications:* "Jewish Year Book" (editor); "The Rise and Development of the Massorah" (J.Q.R.); art. "Jews", in *Chambers' Encyclopaedia*; contributions to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* and Jewish and general press; writings bearing on Anglo-Jewish history, including "History of Jews' College", "History of Anglo-Jewish Press", "History of the Western Synagogue", "A Hundred Years Ago; and "A Glance at some Old Law Books". "Historical Syllabus" (Jewish Study Society); sermons and lectures.

**Harris, Rev. John** — Reader, Liverpool Old Hebrew Congregation. Born, London, 1866. Received early education in City of London School.

**Hyamson, Rev. Moses, B.A., L.L.B.** — Dayan and Rabbi of the United Synagogue and Librarian of the Beth Hamedrash (appointed 1902). Born, Suwalk, Russia, 1863. Minister, Swansea Congregation, 1884—1889; Bristol Congregation, 1889—1892; Dalston Synagogue, 1892—1902. Received Rabbinical Diploma, 1899. B.A., University of London, 1882. L.L.B., 1899. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University College, 1882.

*Publications:* Contributions to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*; sermons and lectures.

**Joseph, Rev. Morris** — Delegate Senior Minister, West London Synagogue of British Jews (appointed 1893). Born, London, 1848. Minister, North London Synagogue, 1868—1874; Old Hebrew Congregation, Liverpool, 1874—1882. Teacher of Homiletics, Jews' College, 1887—1893. Minister and Founder of Hampstead Sabbath Afternoon Services, 1890—1893.

*Publications:* "The Ideal in Judaism" (Sermons); "Judaism as Creed and Life"; contributions to *Jewish Quarterly Review* and Jewish press; Syllabus on Minor Prophets (Jewish Study Society); Three Lectures on the Prayer Book (Jewish Study Society); sermons and lectures.

**Landau, Rev. J. H.** — American Rabbi. Associate Minister of Sydney Congregation, 1888—1903. Sometime Minister of Cardiff Synagogue. Associate Jews' College, 1891.

**Lawrence, Rev. Z.** — Minister, Bloemfontein Congregation (appointed 1904). Born in Russia. Received early education at Kovno Yeshiba and Jews' School, Manchester. Minister, Newport (Mon.), 1896; Sunderland, 1896—1902. Visiting Minister, South Shields Congregation, 1898—1902.

**Lazarus, Rev. A., B.A.** (the late) — Born, London, 1870, died, U.S.A. 1899. B.A., University of London, 1891. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University College, Second Class Certificate in Mathematics, 1890. Jewish Chaplain, Pentonville Prison, 1891—1893. Associate Jews' College, 1892. Minister, Holy Blossom Synagogue, Toronto, 1893—1899; Beni Israel Congregation, Houston, Texas, U.S.A., 1899.

**Lazarus, Rev. H. M., B.A.** — Minister, Brondesbury Synagogue (appointed (1905). Lecturer, Teachers' Classes, Toynbee Hall. Born, Riga, Russia, 1879. Prizeman, Greek and German, University College, 1903. B.A. Honours, University of London, 1904.

**Levene, Samuel.** — Joint Principal, Townley Castle School, Ramsgate. Born, London, 1867. Received early education at Westminster Jews' School. Prizes and Certificates of Honour, University College, 1884, etc.

*Publications:* Contributions to English and American press and to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

**Levin, Rev. Walter.** — Minister, North London Synagogue (appointed 1903). Senior Master, Hebrew and Religion, Jews' Free School and Jews' Infant Schools. Received early education at Aria College and Portsmouth Grammar School. Certificate of Honour, University College, English, 1899. Minister North-West London Synagogue, 1899—1903. Associate Jews' College (Hebrew and Theological qualifications only), 1903.

**Levy, Rev. A.** — Minister, Durban Congregation (appointed 1903). Formerly: Visiting Minister to Aldershot Hebrew Congregation; Superintendent, St. Stephen's Hebrew Classes, Religious Education Board; Lecturer at Toynbee Hall, Teachers' Hebrew and Religion Classes. Born, London, 1878. Associate Jews' College (Hebrew and Theological qualifications only), 1903.

**Levy, Rev. Joseph Leonard, B.A., D.D.** — Rabbi, Rodeph Shalom Congregation, Pittsburg, U. S. A. (appointed 1901). Born, London, 1865. Fielden Scholar and Honour Certificates, University College, 1883. B.A., University of London, 1884. D.D., Western University of Pennsylvania. Minister, Bristol Hebrew Congregation, 1885—1889. Rabbi, B'nai Israel Congregation, Sacramento, California, 1889—1893. Associate Rabbi, Keneseth Israel Congregation, Philadelphia, 1893—1901. Chaplain of "Keegan's Brigade" in the Spanish-American War.

*Publications:* Translation of Tractate Rosh Hashana of the Babylonian Talmud; "The Greater Lights"; "Home Service for the Passover"; "The Nineteenth Century"; "A Book of Prayer"; "The Jew's Beliefs"; "The Children's Service and Hymnal"; "Text-Book of Religion and Ethics for Jewish Children"; "Sabbath Readings"; *The Jewish Criterion* (editor); volumes of sermons and lectures.

**Levy, Rev. Solomon, M.A.** — Minister, New Synagogue (appointed 1895). Born, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1872. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University College, 1892. Prizeman, German, 1893. Fellow of Jews' College, 1896. First Scriptural Examination, University of London, 1897. M.A., Philosophy and Political Economy, University of London, 1901.

*Publications:* Contributions to *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society*, and Jewish press; sermons and lectures.

**Lewin, Rev. Raphael de C.** (the late). Headmaster, Kingston (Jamaica) Hebrew School. Minister, Shreveport (Louisiana) Congregation (appointed 1866). Editor, *New Era* (New York), 1871—1875. Editor, *Jewish Advocate* (New York), 1879—1886.

**Lipkind, Rev. Goodman, B.A.** — Assistant Minister, Brighton Synagogue, 1898. Certificates of Honour, University College, History, 1895; Mental and Moral Philosophy, 1896. B.A., University of London, 1897.

*Publications:* Contributions to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

**Mendelssohn, Rev. L. B.A.** — Burial Rabbi, United Synagogue (appointed 1903). Born, London, 1868. Senior Mathematical Certificate, University College, 1886; Honours Certificate, English and Anglo-Saxon, 1887. B.A., Honours (Mathematics and English), University of London, 1887. Associate of Jews' College, 1888. Headmaster, West- and East-Melbourne Jewish Schools, 1888—1890. Minister, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bristol and Dublin Congregations, 1890—1900.



**Michelson, Rev. B. N., B.A.** — Minister, Newcastle Congregation (appointed 1905). Born Middlesboro', 1873. Received early education at Stockton High School, Aria College, and Portsmouth Grammar School. B.A. University of London, 1891. Mathematical Scholar, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Fellow of Jews' College, 1900. Minister, Newport, 1900—1902; Brisbane, Australia, 1902—1903.

**Nieto, Rev. Jacob.** — Rabbi, Congregation Sherith Israel, San Francisco, U. S. A. Formerly, Minister, Sheffield Congregations, and Teacher, Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum. Born, London, 1863.

*Publications:* *New Occident* (editor); "The Romance of Poverty".

**Ornstein, Rev. A. (the late).** — Minister, Kimberley Congregation 1884—1885. Certificate of Honour, English Language, University College, 1882. Born, London, 1863, died Kimberley, 1885.

**Phillips, Rev. Eleazar P.** — Minister, Garnethill Synagogue, Glasgow (appointed 1879). Born, Adelaide, South Australia, 1862.

**Phillips, Rev. Isaac** — Minister, Portsea Synagogue. Born, London, 1845.

**Polack, Rev. Joseph, B.A.** Assistant Master and House Master, Clifton College. Lecturer in Hebrew, University College, Bristol. Born, Rochester, 1856. B.A. Honours, University of London, 1879. Minister, Liverpool Old Congregation 1881—1890.

**Rosenbaum, Rev. M.** — Minister, South London Synagogue (appointed 1905). Formerly: Minister, Poplar Synagogue (London); Hanley Congregation; Newcastle-on-Tyne Congregation; and Jewish Chaplain, North Eastern Reformatory. Born, 1871. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University College. Prizeman in Mathematics, University College, and Honour Certificate, English, 1890.

*Publications:* "Masonic Lectures".

**Simmons, Rev. Joseph** — Hebrew Teacher, Gates of Hope School. Formerly: Minister, Brixton Temporary Synagogue; Headmaster, West Metropolitan Jewish School; Hebrew Teacher, Stepney Jewish Schools; Lecturer, Teacher's Class, Jews' Infant Schools.

**Simon, Maurice B.A.** — Teacher, Johannesburg. Fellow of Jews' College, 1901. Received previous education at Oxford University. Teacher, Jews' College, 1897—1901.

**Singer, Rev. Simeon** — Minister, New West End Synagogue (appointed 1879). Hon. Secretary, Jews' College Education Committee. Born, London, 1848. Master, Jews' College School 1867—1879. Minister, Borough New Synagogue, 1867—1879. Received Rabbinical Diploma, 1890.

*Publications:* "Authorised Daily Prayer Book" (Editor); "Talmudical Fragments in the Bodleian Library" (joint editor with Prof. SCHUCHTER); sermons, lectures, contributions to *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society*, and Jewish and general press.



**Sola de, Rev. Samuel** (the late) — Minister, Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, 1862—1866. Born, London, 1839.

*Publications:* Various synagogue melodies.

**Solomon, R. J.** — Formerly Teacher, Communal School, Margo Settlement, Cyprus (appointed 1898).

**Stern, Rev. Joseph** — Minister, East London Synagogue. Born, Bedford, 1865. Received early education at Aria College. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University College, 1885. Associate Jews' College, 1889.

*Publications:* Contributions to the Jewish press; sermons and lectures.

**Tribich, Rev. Reuben** — Minister, Bradford Hebrew Congregation (appointed 1903). Minister, Reading Congregation 1902—1903. Sometime Assistant Chaplain of British Army at Aldershot. Certificates of Honour, University College, English Language and Literature, Advanced Constitutional History, and Logic, 1901.

**Valentine, Rev. J. H.** — Minister, Manchester Portuguese Congregation (appointed 1877). Formerly: Minister, Andrade Synagogue; Teacher, Gates of Hope Portuguese School; and Stepney Jewish Schools.

**Wassergug, Rev. David, B.A.** — Minister, Dalston Synagogue. B.A. University of London. Associate Jews' College. Formerly: Minister Cardiff Congregation; Porth Elizabeth Congregation; and Johannesburg Hebrew Congregation.

*Publications:* Contributions to the Jewish and general press; sermons and lectures.

**Wolf, Rev. A., M.A., D.Lit.** — Minister, Manchester Congregation of British Jews (appointed 1901). Born in Russia, 1876. Hollier Hebrew Scholar, University College, 1895. Certificate of Honour, Ancient History, 1896. Prizeman, First Hebrew and Scriptural Examination, University of London, 1897. Further Scriptural Examination, 1898. Fellow of Jews' College, 1898. M.A., Philosophy and Political Economy, University of London, 1899. Doctor of Literature, Philosophy, 1905. B.A., Cambridge University, and Certificate of Research in Philosophy, Research Prize, St. John's College, Cambridge, 1901. Fellow of University College, 1902. Assistant Lecturer in Philosophy to Professor SULLY at University College, 1898—1903. Teacher of Philosophy at University of London (appointed 1903). Member of London University Board for Philosophical Studies, 1904.

*Publications:* "The Existential Import of Categorical Studies in Logic"; articles and reviews in *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

**Wolfers, Rev. Philip** — Principal, Margate Jewish College. Formerly: Minister, Barberton Synagogue (S. Africa); Johannesburg (S. Africa); Swansea Hebrew Congregation; and Cardiff Hebrew Congregation. Born, London, 1861. Received early education at Jews' Free School.

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## APPENDIX II.

### LIST OF SCHOLARSHIPS AND HOLDERS.

THE LORD MAYOR'S COMMEMORATION SCHOLARSHIP. — Instituted in commemoration of the appointment, in 1856, of a gentleman of the Jewish faith to the office of Lord Mayor of the City of London. The income amounts to about £30 per annum.

Samuel de Sola	1859	F. L. Mendelson	1885
John Chapman	1861	Abraham Kenner	1886
B. Berliner	1863	F. H. Cotton	1889
Bearon Marks	1865	S. Levy	1890
Herman Gollancz	1868	B. N. Michelson	1894
Joseph Abrahams	1872	M. I. Cohen	1897
J. A. Gouldstein	1875	Israel Cohen	1899
Herman Cohen	1878	David Pool	1902
Francis L. Cohen	1881	Ephraim Levine	1905

BARNETT MEYERS SCHOLARSHIP ENDOWMENT. — Presented by Barnett MEYERS, Esq., in 1863. The income is about £66 per annum, and provides for two Scholarships of £30 per annum each. Tenable for three years.

Simeon Singer	1863	W. Greenberg	1888
B. Berliner	1865	David Wasserzug	1889
Abraham Harris	1868	J. Abelson	1890
Isidore Harris	1870	M. Rosenbaum	1890
Hermann Gollancz	1874	S. Gelberg	1893
Joseph Abrahams	1877	J. Epstein	1894
Moses Hyamson	1878	G. Friedländer	1894
B. Saul	1879	G. Lipkind	1895
Abraham Ornstein	1882	Walter Levin	1898
S. Levene	1884	A. Levy	1898
B. Elzas	1885	J. Danglow	1899
Michael Adler	1886	Harris M. Lazarus	1901
Z. Jacobs	1888	B. I. Cohen	1902
David Hirsch			1905

# CXCIII

THE PRESENTATION OF SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE TO THE JEWS' COLLEGE, in affectionate memory of his wife, JUDITH LADY MONTEFIORE, daughter of LEVY BARENT COHEN, Esquire, deceased. The income of this Scholarship, formerly about £100, is now reduced to about £76 per annum.

Morris Joseph	1863	F. L. Mendelson	1886
Joseph Abrahams	1866	A. Kenner	1889
Gabriel Myers	1869	A. Lazarus B.A.	1892
Israel Abrahams	1872	J. Abelson	1893
B. Saul	1876	Asher Feldman	1896
Moses Abrahams	1880	A. Levy	1899
Francis L. Cohen	1885	D. Mann, B.A.	1902
H. J. Sandheim	1905		

THE RESIDENT SCHOLARSHIP ENDOWMENT FUND. — This Scholarship is of the Annual Value of £30, tenable for three years, and was presented by an anonymous donor.

John Chapman	1864	Joseph Stern	1887
Simeon Singer	1867	Abraham Lazarus	1888
Bearon Marks	1868	A. Feldman	1892
Joseph A. Simmons	1872	M. Bensky	1897
Hermann Cohen	1874	G. Chodowsky	1899
Israel Abrahams	1878	J. K. Levin	1900
David Wasserzug	1883	J. Hochman	1903

THE EDWARD HENRY BEDDINGTON MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP. — This Scholarship was endowed in the year 1874 by the family of the late EDWARD HENRY BEDDINGTON Esq., in commemoration of his having been a member of the Council of Jews' College, and one of its Treasurers. It is of the annual value of about £50, tenable for three years.

Joseph Polack	1875	S. Levy B.A.	1893
Moses Hyamson	1881	D. J. Freedman B.A.	1895
Joseph L. Levy	1884	B. N. Michelson B.A.	1896
B. Elzas	1886	M. Bensky	1899
Michael Adler	1889	J. K. Levin	1900
David Wasserzug	1890	Israel Cohen	1901
A. Kenner M.A.	1892	J. K. Levin	1903

THE ABRAHAM SOLOMON PALMER SCHOLARSHIP. — This Scholarship was endowed by the will of the late ABRAHAM SOLOMON PALMER, Esq., of Exeter, who died in 1880. The endowment produces £34.4s. per annum.

Joseph L. Levy.	1882	M. E. Davis	1884
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H. Barnstein	1888	R. J. Solomon	1897
H. Gordon	1890	Montagu Cohen	1899
D. J. Friedman	1893	R. Tribich	1901
A. Wolf	1895	J. Danglow	1902
D. Pool B.A.			1905

ISAAC MOSES MARSDEN MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP. — This Scholarship, of the annual value of about £25, tenable for two years, was founded by the family of the late I. M. MARSDEN Esq., and is awarded as an Entrance Scholarship.

Barnett Abelson	1892	M. Blaser	1897
D. J. Freedman	1894	Henry Joseph	1899
J. K. Levin	1896	J. S. Sakier	1901
Morris Sagowitz			1904

THE MARIANNE SAMUEL SCHOLARSHIP. — Founded in 1892 by CHARLES SAMUEL Esq., one of the Treasurers, in memory of his lamented wife. The Endowment produces £40 per annum.

A. Wolf B.A. 1896

THE MICHAEL SAMUEL SCHOLARSHIP. — This Scholarship was endowed by the will of the late MICHAEL SAMUEL, who died in 1891, and who bequeathed £500, payable on the death of his widow. The bequest reverted to the College in 1898, and produces about £15 per annum.

D. Pool	1900	Ephraim Levine	1903
J. Hochman	1902	Louis Morris	1905

THE JACOB A. FRANKLIN SCHOLARSHIP. — Founded in 1899 by the trustees of the Jacob A. Franklin Trust. The endowment produces about £30 per annum.

B. J. Cohen	1900	H. J. Sandheim	1902
Abraham Cohen			1905

THE SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE STUDENTSHIPS. — Founded by the Council, in memory of Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, out of the Endowment received from the Trustees of the Judith Lady Montefiore College. Of various values; the following four Studentships enabling students to complete their studies at other institutions.

A. Woolf B.A.	1898	J. Hochmann B.A.	1905
H. Snowman B.A.	1901	David Pool B.A.	1905

## APPENDIX III.

### CURRICULA AND SCHEMES OF STUDY, 1905.

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#### I.

1.—This College, founded in the year 5616—1855, provides for the education of Rabbis, Ministers, Preachers, Readers, and Teachers of Religion for Jewish Congregations in the British Empire.

It comprises three divisions—a Preparatory Class, a Junior Students' Class, and a Senior Students' Class.

2.—The charge for Students in the Junior and Senior Classes is £30 per annum, and for Pupils in the Preparatory Class £10 per annum, but the Council have power to remit the whole or any part of these charges.

3.—The Academic year at this College begins immediately after the Summer Holidays, and is divided into three terms:—(1) A term beginning after the close of the Summer Holidays, and ending with the close of the secular year; (2) A term ending immediately before the beginning of Pass-over; and (3) A term extending thence to the beginning of the Summer Holidays.

4.—Examinations for entrance into the College are held shortly before the beginning of each of the above terms. Notice of such examinations is published previously.

The subjects of these examinations are Hebrew and Religion, English, Geography, History, and Arithmetic, with the addition of any two of the following:— French, German, Latin, Elementary Science, Algebra, and Geometry.

Candidates successful in these examinations begin their courses of study at the commencement of the Academic year which follows next from the date of their entrance examination.

#### II.

##### I.—PREPARATORY CLASS.

###### (a.) *Hebrew and Theological Studies.*

The course of these studies includes the text of the Bible, Talmud,



doctrines and practice of the Jewish Religion, Hebrew Grammar, Jewish History, Elocution and Singing.

*Pupils of this Class on passing the First Theological Examination, are, at the discretion of the Principal, promoted to the Junior Students' Class.*

The subjects of the First Theological Examination are — Bible (text and commentary), Religion (principles and practice), Talmud, Liturgy, Hebrew Grammar, Jewish History, Practical Tuition in Religion, and **חזנות**.

(b.) *Secular Studies.*

This course is so arranged in combination with the theological studies of the Class that a pupil at the time of his passing the First Theological Examination shall have attained the grade of the Matriculation Examination of the University of London.

The subjects of study include English, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and Modern Languages.

2.—JUNIOR STUDENTS' CLASS.

(a.) *Hebrew and Theological Studies.*

The curriculum of Students in this Class normally extends over two years.

The subjects of study are — Bible (text with commentaries), Talmud (with commentaries), Jewish History and Literature, Hebrew Grammar, principles and practice of Religion, Liturgy, Homiletics, Elocution, Singing, and **חזנות**.

*Students of this Class on passing the Second Theological Examination are, at the discretion of the Principal, promoted to Division A. of the Senior Students' Class.*

The subjects of the Second Theological Examination are included in the curriculum of the Class.

(b.) *Secular Studies.*

This course, which is carried on at the University College and the Jews' College jointly, is arranged so that it shall bring Students to the grade required for the Intermediate Examination in Arts in the University of London.

3.—SENIOR STUDENTS' CLASS.

Division A.

(a.) *Hebrew and Theological Studies.*

The curriculum of Students in this Class normally extends over two years.

The subjects for study include Bible (text with commentaries), Talmud, Grammar of Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac, principles and practice of Religion, Jewish History and Literature, Elocution, Singing, and **חזנות**.

The texts read are in the main those prescribed by the University of London for the B.A. examination in Hebrew and Syriac, the course

being so arranged as to bring students to the grade required for that examination.

*Students in this Division on passing the Third Theological Examination are, at the discretion of the Principal, promoted to Division B of the Senior Students' Class.*

The subjects for the Third Theological Examination are similar to those studied in the curriculum of the Class.

(b.) *Secular Studies.*

Special arrangements are made for Students to pursue studies in Philosophical or Literary courses at University College.

Division B. (Class for *ההרת הוראה*).

This Class is for the preparation of Students for the Diploma of "Rabbi" (*ההרת הוראה*).

Before entering this Class Students must have passed the Third Theological of the College, together with the Degree Examination of some recognised University or some equivalent examination.\*

The course of study in this Class normally extends over two and a half years.

The subjects of examinations are: — Talmud, Posekim, and Responsa.

The Examiners are: — The Very Reverend the Chief Rabbi, the Reverend Haham of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation the Principal and the Theological Tutor of the Jews' College, and a member of the Beth Din of the United Synagogue.

The following titles shall be conferred as a result of the above Theological Examinations: —

- (1) The title of Associate of Jews' College, to be granted to Students who shall have passed the Third Theological Examination and likewise graduated at a University.
- (2) The title of Fellow of Jews' College, to be granted to Students obtaining the Rabbinical Diploma.

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\* The Council of the College is empowered in exceptional cases to dispense with the qualification of the University Degree.

TIME TABLE. — C. JUNIOR STUDENTS.

	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.
9.30—10.15.	Homiletics. Rev. Dr. Gollancz.	Talmud. The Principal.	Singing. Rev. J. L. Geffen.	Jewish History and Literature. Dr. Hirsch.	Bible (2nd division) The Principal.
10.15—11.15.	Pesikta. The Principal.	Bible. The Principal.	Talmud. The Principal.	Talmud. The Principal.	Syriac. Dr. Hirschfeld.
11.15—12.	Talmud. The Principal.	Commentaries on the Bible. The Principal.	Bible. The Principal.	Arabic. Dr. Hirschfeld.	Syriac. The Principal.
12—2.					
2—3.	Syriac. Dr. Hirschfeld.	Yoreh Deah. Dr. Hirsch.		Aramaic. Dr. Hirschfeld.	2—2.45. Elocution. Dr. H. H. Hulbe B.A.
3—4.	Syriac. Dr. Hirschfeld.	Hebrew Grammar. Dr. Hirsch.		Syriac. Dr. Hirschfeld.	
4—5.	*Psychology.			*Psychology.	

Subject marked thus (\*) is taken at University College.

## APPENDIX V.

### LEGACIES AND BEQUESTS TO JEWS' COLLEGE.

	£	s.	d.
Barned, Israel, Esq. . . . .	1000	0	0
Zechariah, Mrs. Leah . . . . .	100	0	0
Samuel, Mr. and Mrs. L., in Memory of . . . . .	20	0	0
Samter, J., Esq. . . . .	19	19	0
Jessel, Z. A., Esq. . . . .	50	0	0
And a collection of Fossils.			
Nathan, Jacob, Esq. . . . .	*200	0	0
Nathaniel, Esq. . . . .	41	12	3
Worms, M., Esq., in Memory of . . . . .	25	0	0
Sassoon, S. D., Esq. (less duty) . . . . .	200	0	0
Abrahams, Miss E., Sheffield . . . . .	100	0	0
Beddington, E. H., Esq. . . . .	100	0	0
Moses, Henry, Esq. (less duty) . . . . .	100	0	0
Cohen, Mrs. Benjamin . . . . .	19	19	0
Samuel, Mrs. Catherine . . . . .	100	0	0
Moss, Edward, Esq. . . . .	10	10	0
Samuel, Edwin L., Esq., in Memory of . . . . .	100	0	0
Sachs, Solomon, Esq. . . . .	50	0	0
Merton, E. M., Esq., in Memory of . . . . .	20	0	0
Rothschild, Baron L. de, in Memory of . . . . .	200	0	0
Keeling, H. L., Esq. . . . .	100	0	0
Cohen, Louis, Esq. . . . .	100	0	0
Cohen, Isaac M., Esq., in Memory of the late . . . . .	10	0	0
Emanuel, Edward Janverin, Esq. . . . .	20	0	0
Montefiore, Sir Moses, Bart. . . . .	250	0	0
Heilbut, R. S., Esq. . . . .	100	0	0
Ellis, Sir Barrow H., K.C.S.I. . . . .	1000	0	0
Levy, Miss Matilda, in Memory of the late Joseph M. Levy, Esq. . . . .	21	0	0
Meyers, Barnett, Esq. . . . .	100	0	0
Moses, Mrs. Joseph, in Memory of the late . . . . .	50	0	0
Falk, Philip, Esq. . . . .	100	0	0

\* The Interest only of this sum is enjoyed by the College.

	£	s.	d.
Adler, Rev. Dr., Chief Rabbi . . . . .	10	0	0
Solomon, Henry, Esq. . . . .	1000	0	0
Cohen, Henry Louis, Esq. . . . .	50	0	0
Warburg, Simeon, Esq. . . . .	20	0	0
Lion, Lion, Esq. (less duty) . . . . .	5	0	0
Montagu, Hyman, Esq. . . . .	21	0	0
Marcus, Mark, Esq. (less duty) . . . . .	10	0	0
Davis, James P., Esq. . . . .	50	0	0
Lowenheim, D., Esq. . . . .	10	0	0
Samuel, Michael, Esq. . . . .	50	0	0
Joseph, Henry, Esq. . . . .	25	0	0
Alexander, Lionel Lindo, Esq. . . . .	50	0	0
Mocatta, Abraham, Esq. . . . .	25	0	0
Rothschild, L. M., Esq. (Share of Residue). . . . .	8188	7	5
Cohen, David, Esq. . . . .	50	0	0
Heilbut, R. S., Esq. . . . .	*100	0	0
Saunders, Henry, Esq. . . . .	*200	0	0
Symons, Henry E., Esq. (less duty) . . . . .	*600	0	0
Symons, Mrs. Henry E. . . . .	25	0	0
Cohen, Alfred L., Esq. . . . .	500	0	0
Cohen, Alfred L., Esq., in Memory of, per Mrs. James H. Solomon	50	0	0
Lewisohn, J., Esq. . . . .	50	0	0
Emanuel, Barrow, Esq. . . . .	20	0	0
Hart, Henry, Esq. . . . .	200	0	0
Mocatta, F. D. Esq. . . . .	200	0	0

\* Reversion.



## THE SONS OF THE PROPHETS.

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A PAPER READ BEFORE THE HAMPSTEAD AND ST. JOHN'S  
WOOD JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY ON NOV. 5TH 1866—1905,  
BY THE VERY REVEREND THE CHIEF RABBI.

I fear that some of you may not find the theme of this paper entertaining. But, happily, instruction and not amusement is the purpose of your literary gatherings. And I have reason to hope that you will not find the subject devoid of interest. For the field of our investigation is one which equally touches what the Germans term "*Wissenschaft und Leben*" — science and practical life. Whilst dealing with events and phenomena of the remote past, we shall gather admonition, counsel and encouragement, that bear directly upon the living present.

### PROPHETS AND PROPHECY.

In one of the Scripture lessons which we shall shortly read, mention is made of a certain woman "of the wives of the sons of the prophets" <sup>1</sup>. What are we to understand by this term "sons of the prophets"? Some of our ancient commentators hold that the term signifies disciples of the

<sup>1</sup> II Kings IV, 1.

prophets. The Targum accordingly renders it חרא מנשי תלמידי נבייא "one of the wives of the disciples of the prophets". But modern interpreters are of opinion that, in accordance with the usage of Hebrew and cognate Semitic languages, the expression signifies an order, company or guild of prophets.

But here we are forthwith confronted by a difficult question. Is not prophecy a divine gift bestowed by Heaven upon a few individuals specially chosen? How then can the possession or bestowal of this gift be influenced by human teaching or human companionship? In order to answer these questions I must premise a few words on the nature of the gift vouchsafed by Divine beneficence to a prophet. For a disquisition on this subject is beyond the scope of this paper, though the theme is indeed an attractive one. A recent writer justly characterises Hebrew prophecy "as the deepest movement of the human spirit, and in many ways the most mysterious in the education of mankind"<sup>1</sup>. It is believed by some scholars that the word נביא is derived from a root נבא or נבע which signifies, "to bubble forth", so that נביא would indicate a person who pours forth utterances under the divine impulse of inspiration. But Hebraists are now agreed, that the word is derived from an Arabic root نبغ, which signifies to call, or to proclaim, so that the נביא would be a speaker or herald, an interpreter or medium of the Divine Will, one who speaks out a thought revealed to him by the Almighty. The word, therefore, does not necessarily connote any prediction of the future, although it constituted one of his exalted functions. Its Greek equivalent προφήτης, whence the English 'Prophet', has an exactly similar meaning. It denotes a spokesman, a person who speaks

<sup>1</sup> The late Rev. A. B. Davidson in article 'Prophecy and Prophets' in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. IV, p. 107.

for another, more especially one who speaks on behalf of the Deity. The word thus describes the privileged being, who delivers inspired messages of warning, exhortation and instruction, convincing, comforting and building up. The first mention of this word in Scripture occurs in Genesis XX, 7, where Abraham is described as a prophet, and as such, in communion with the Deity. Moses is regarded as the father and greatest of the prophets, inasmuch as to him was entrusted the supreme privilege of communicating the Law unto Israel.

When this faithful servant of God passed away it seemed as though the gift of prophecy had become extinct. A few divine announcements were made to the people through the mouth of Joshua, but the word נביא does not occur once in the book bearing his name and only twice in the book of Judges<sup>1</sup>. We are told, that when Samuel was a child, 'the word of the Lord was precious', or, as we should term it, rare; "there was no open vision"<sup>2</sup>, whilst towards the close of his career we hear of חבל הנביאים 'a band of prophets'<sup>3</sup>, להקת הנביאים 'an assembly of prophets'<sup>4</sup>. From this circumstances and other statements made in the book which bears his name, it is assumed that Samuel founded and organized the prophetic order, which was destined to become a mighty power in the State. And we may readily conjecture the potent reasons which stimulated this action.

#### INSTITUTION OF THE PROPHETIC GUILD.

For in the Book of Judges the nation is represented as gradually decaying morally, religiously and intellectually. There was no central authority; each tribe managed, — or rather mismanaged — its own affairs. "Each man did what

<sup>1</sup> IV, 4; VI, 8.      <sup>2</sup> I Samuel III, 1.      <sup>3</sup> *ibid* X, 5.      <sup>4</sup> *ibid* XIX, 20.

was right in his own eyes" <sup>1</sup>. There was a continuous lapsing into Baal-worship. We may picture to ourselves Samuel bitterly grieving for the sad condition of the people whom he loved so wisely and so well, and anxiously devising measures to avert their utter ruin. He must have perceived that in order to effect this regeneration it would not suffice if he worked unaided. He felt it his imperative duty to rally helpers around him, who would aid him in his labours during his life-time, and continue his work after he had passed away. Men were needed whose vocation it would be to keep the whole house of Israel true to the Divine purpose, for which they had been set up as a people; men imbued with religious enthusiasm, and filled with knowledge, who would interpret the divine law, and breathe new life into it by grasping its true meaning; men worthy to be recipients of divine inspiration, who would reproach the people fearlessly for their shortcomings, and set their duty to God and their fellows constantly before their eyes. With this aim it would seem that he gathered young men of promise around him and trained them for the high duties they would be called upon to discharge. These were called בני הנביאים 'Sons of the prophets'. We need not assume that these young men were trained in special schools. The term indicates that they were members of a Guild, Corporation, or, as we should term it, College, in its original etymological sense, — a connection of associates, as we speak of the College of Physicians or Surgeons. They are first mentioned in connection with Saul. Samuel tells him <sup>2</sup> "it shall come to pass when thou art gone to Gibeah, that thou shalt meet חבל הנביאים, a company of prophets coming down from the high place with the psaltery and a tabret, and a pipe and a harp before them, and they shall prophesy". The expression

<sup>1</sup> Judges XXI, 25.

<sup>2</sup> I Samuel X, 5.



מתנבאים probably means that, under the influence of high spiritual exaltation and ecstasy, they would sing sacred songs in praise of God and engage in divine worship.

#### THEIR STUDIES.

The main subject of their studies must have been the Law and its interpretation, the history of the people and the duties incumbent upon them in the face of dangers and of difficulties. On the occasion of a crisis in the fortunes of the people, Samuel, addressing the representatives of the nation, said, <sup>1</sup> "Moreover as for me, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you: but *I will teach you the good and the right way*. Only fear the Lord, and serve him in truth with all your heart". This was the work in which this faithful leader spent himself, the teaching of the good and the right way laid down in the Torah. He must have fully realized the paramount importance of inspiring his disciples with the same passion for righteousness, the same earnest absorbing desire to diffuse this teaching throughout the nation. And the scope and range of this instruction were widened and broadened by each successive revelation of the Divine Will touching God and His purpose, concerning Man and his destiny, vouchsafed to the various prophets.

It would also appear from the passage quoted above, that the members of the prophetic brotherhoods were instructed in singing and in the playing of musical instruments. What a charming picture is thus presented to us of those olden days! The youthful students chanting the praises of the Most High to the dulcet sounds of the lyre and the flute, the harp and the timbrel, "far from the madding crowd's

<sup>1</sup> I Samuel XII, 23.



ignoble strife", from the crash of arms and the clang of the trumpet, finding their delight in the law of the Lord, meditating thereon in their peaceful retreats.

#### SAMUEL'S DISCIPLES AND SUCCESSORS.

The names of Samuel's disciples are not recorded. We may conjecture that they comprised David, the sweet singer of Israel, who imbibed such profound religious feeling from his master, Gad the seer, the devoted companion of David during his exile, and Nathan, his stern reprover in later times.

The prophetic societies did not become extinct with the death of their founder. The institution would seem to have flourished in the days of Elijah and Elisha. It is recorded how during the persecutions of Jezebel, who desired to cut off the prophets of the Lord, Obadiah, the chamberlain of the palace hid a hundred of them in a cave.<sup>1</sup> Graetz in his *History of the Jews*<sup>2</sup> adduces several arguments to show that Isaiah rallied around him a number of such disciples, and that he alludes to them when he says<sup>3</sup>, 'Behold, I and the children whom God hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel'. They should serve as exemplars to the backsliders among the nation by their meekness and trust in Divine Providence. It may be assumed that the institution endured, though in a somewhat modified form, until the days of Malachi, the last of the prophets.

#### EXTERNAL ORGANIZATION.

We know but little of the external organization of these communities. It would seem that the members lived together in settlements. One of these companies had its home in Ramah, where Samuel himself dwelt. It was called נִיִּית<sup>4</sup>. Some

<sup>1</sup> I Kings XVIII, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Vol II, Part I, Note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah VIII, 9.

<sup>4</sup> I Samuel XIX, 18.

commentators interpret this word to mean a place of study, a college, a school. The Targum of Jonathan renders it **בית חולפנא**, a house of instruction. But its most likely meaning is simply habitations, — the huts or dwellings occupied by the sons of the prophets. Professor Cheyne, with his extraordinary Jerachmeelite obsession, holds the text to be corrupt and amends it thus: — **גבעת ירחמאל** the hill of Jerachmeel.<sup>1</sup> In the days of Elijah and Elisha other localities are mentioned as residences of these communities — Bethel, Jericho, Gilgal. It is also likely that such a settlement existed in Shunem, for we hear of Elisha continually journeying backward and forward to that place.<sup>2</sup> These visits were surely not without their definite object. It therefore seems highly probable that disciples were being trained there for the service of God and of their people.

The members of the prophetic 'College' were presided over by the leading prophet of his age. When Elijah was called hence, Elisha exclaimed **אבי אבי** "my father, my father"!<sup>3</sup> It is strange that, while this word has almost entirely disappeared as a title of dignity from our religious communion, it has been retained by several Christian denominations, in the term Father applied to dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, and in the titles Abbot and Patriarch. Even the term Pope is derived, as you are aware, from the same source, being a modified form of the mediæval Latin term Papa, father, whilst the only connection in which we have retained this use of the word is in the title **אב בית דין** Father, i. e. President, of the Court of Judgment.

There is no reason to believe that the sons of the prophets dwelt under the same roof, but there is certainly evidence that they partook of their meals in common<sup>4</sup>, as is still the

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopædia Biblica s. v. *Naioth*.

<sup>2</sup> II Kings IV, 8, *et passim*.

<sup>3</sup> II Kings II 12. See also I Samuel X, 12.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.* IV, 38.

case in the collegiate life of our ancient universities. Some members wore a distinctive garb of black camel-hair girt with a leather girdle.<sup>1</sup> They did not constitute a monastic order, leading a life of celibacy perforce, and of idleness by choice. They had to depend upon the labour of their hands for a livelihood and were not exempt from the misfortunes that befel ordinary mortals. The wife of one of the sons of the prophets came to Elisha complaining that the creditor had come to take her two sons as bondmen, and Elisha had no corporate property from which to relieve the poor afflicted widow<sup>2</sup>.

#### THEIR FUNCTIONS.

The next point to which we must direct our attention is the function of the sons of the prophets. The fact that they were members of such a guild was by no means a guarantee that they would obtain the gift of prophecy. Maimonides says in his הלכות יסודי התורה, Chapters on the Fundamentals of the Law<sup>3</sup>, "They that aspired to be enrolled in the prophetic order were called sons of the prophets. But however eagerly they aspired to this high estate, it was not a thing of certainty that the spirit of God would descend upon them. The call only came to those who were worthy instruments for receiving the Divine inspiration, who were endowed with wisdom, who, self-controlled, led the simple life, holding themselves aloof from the follies and vanities of earth and its many inventions. The call came to those who had purged their minds from sordid cares, and who devoted their thoughts to spiritual concerns, meditating upon the greatness, the goodness, and the wisdom of Almighty God". In illustration of these words the instance of Gehazi should

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah XX, 2; Zechariah XIII, 4.

<sup>2</sup> II Kings IV, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter VII.

be cited. The attendant of Elisha could not have been a mere menial, entrusted as he was by his master with an important mission, and was probably a member of the prophetic community under Elisha's care. But when he proved himself addicted to greed and covetousness he was rejected. Amos, on the other hand, the herdsman of Tekoah and dresser of sycamore figs, became an inspired messenger of God, though, as he expressly tells us, he was not the son of a prophet.<sup>1</sup>

But, albeit only few of these students were thought worthy of becoming the messengers of the Divine will, they must have rendered yeoman's service to the nation. Stored as their memory was with the history of the past, and with devotional poetry, they must have exercised a powerful influence for good on the minds of the people. They probably held weekly and monthly gatherings, at which they expounded the Law, preached a pure morality, and imbued the nation with a lofty patriotism. For we are told that, when the Shunamite woman was about to go to Elisha, her husband asked her "wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day when it is neither Sabbath nor new moon?"<sup>2</sup> At assemblies such as these the olden prophets gave utterance to those stern denunciations and solemn appeals to the consciences of their hearers, which so profoundly stirred their contemporaries and have exercised an abiding influence upon the education of mankind.

It is conjectured that members of these colleges wrote the annals of the nation, which we possess in the second Book of Samuel, the Books of Kings, the Books of Chronicles, and other books which have been lost, and which are mentioned in Scripture, such as *דברי דוד המלך* the Book of the Acts of David the King, written by Nathan the Prophet and by Gad the Seer<sup>3</sup>, *ספר דברי שלמה*, the book of the Acts

<sup>1</sup> Amos VII, 14.

<sup>2</sup> II Kings IV, 23.

<sup>3</sup> I Chronicles XXIX, 29.



of Solomon <sup>1</sup>, and ספר דברי שלמה למלכי יהודה the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. Dean Stanley says with reference to the first-named composition: "Of all the lost books of antiquity, is there any heathen or sacred to be named with the loss of the biography of David by the prophet Nathan?" <sup>2</sup>. It is also possible that we are indebted to members of such a guild for the preservation, if not for the composition of some of the didactic and lyric poems contained in the book of Psalms.

#### PRECURSORS OF MODERN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES.

I have endeavoured in the preceding statements to give a brief and, I fear, but an inadequate account of Israel's prophetic guilds. I have abstained from using the term 'Schools of the Prophets', so as to avoid the assumption that they constituted places in which direct instruction was imparted. Yet schools they certainly would appear to have been in the sense that the members of the company were disciples and followers of a master, holding a common doctrine, accepting the same teachings, and exhibiting in practice the same general methods and principles, and more especially the same intellectual bent and the identical spiritual fervour. Dean Stanley <sup>3</sup> in speaking of the Sons of the Prophets calls attention to the fact that "this is the first direct mention, the first expressed sanction, not merely of regular arts of instruction and education, but of regular societies formed for that purpose — of schools, of colleges, of universities. Long before Plato had gathered his disciples about him in the olive groves, or Zeno in the portico, these institutions had sprung up under Samuel in Judea . . . .

<sup>1</sup> II Chronicles IX, 29, see also *ibid.* XII, 15; XIII, 22; XX, 34.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Jewish Church, Lecture XIX.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* Lecture XVIII.



Of the information imparted by Samuel or by the Fathers of the School of the Prophets we know hardly anything. We see only that there was a contagion of goodness, of enthusiasm, of energy, which even those who came with hostile or indifferent minds, such as Saul and the messengers of Saul, found it almost impossible to resist; they too were wrapped in the vortex of inspiration, and the bystanders exclaimed with astonishment. 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' How like the spell exercised by the local genius of our English universities insensibly, and unaccountably exercised over many, who would not be able to say how or whence they had gained it; how like to the influences passing to and fro amongst us for good or evil, from the example, the characters, the spirit of our companions; far more potent than lectures, precepts or sermons". And in support of this argument Stanley quotes the famous saying of R. Chanina <sup>1</sup>, *והרבה למדתי מרבותי ומחבירי יותר מרבותי ומתלמידי*, "I have learned much from my masters, and from my companions more than from my masters, but most of all from my scholars". May we not then regard the schools of the Prophets viewed in this light as the precursors of the Theological Colleges of our days?

#### MODERN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give a survey of the several institutions which exercised the supremely important function of training religious teachers in Jewry. We have seen how this duty was in part discharged by the prophets. When the voice of prophecy became mute, the duty was undertaken by the scribes, who in their turn were followed by the doctors of the Talmud, who taught in academies poetically termed Vineyards, where the scholars

<sup>1</sup> Taanith p. 7.

"sat in rows as stands the blooming vine". In succeeding centuries we hear of the *ישיבות*, literally settlements, in which the Bible and primarily the Talmud with its Commentators and the ritual codes were the exclusive subjects of study. What an attractive subject for a Lecture would be the history and inner life of a Yeshibah! It is true that Rabbis were trained within its walls. But that was not the primary aim of the Yeshibah, as little as it is the purpose of Universities to train the clergy. Yeshiboth were established for the purpose of enabling every son of Israel to study the Law. In these sober days we can form no conception of the ardour with which the Talmud was then studied, the *Bachurim*, as the students were called, realising to the very letter the counsel given in the *Pirke Aboth*<sup>1</sup>, "A morsel of bread with salt must thou eat, and water by measure thou must drink, thou must sleep upon the ground, and live a life of trouble, the while thou toilest in the Torah".

In the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century a great change took place in regard to the conception of the functions and duties which the Rabbi was called upon to discharge. Up to that period his activity had been principally confined to unwearying study, to the faithful supervision of the religious requirements of the community, to arbitration in lawsuits and the settlement of disputes, and to the answering of inquiries on points of ritual and cases of conscience. It was primarily owing to the teachings of Moses Mendelssohn that the Jews of Germany were induced to realize that they formed an integral portion of the nation, in whose midst they dwelt, and that they were called upon to take an active part in its social and literary life. Various communities began to demand of their religious teachers that, in addition

<sup>1</sup> c. VI, § 4.

to the possession of Rabbinic learning, they should be equipped with a sound classical education, that they should be fully abreast of the secular knowledge of the day, and that sermons in the vernacular should become a regular constituent of Divine worship. The necessity of establishing institutions for the training of Rabbis on these lines soon became apparent. It is of interest to note that, although the impulse for the foundation of such institutions came from Germany, the first training College was established in Metz under the title *Séminaire Israélite de France*, the Yeshibah at Metz being in the first instance transformed into a Talmud Torah, and then elevated into a Central Rabbinical School in 1829, whence it was transferred to Paris thirty years later.

It would be of great interest to trace the history and the life-work of the various seminaries successively established. But I must confine myself to giving their titles, briefly indicating the schools of thought they severally represent. In 1827 the *Istituto Rabbinico Lombardo-Veneto* was established at Padua, of which that brilliant scholar, Samuel David Luzzatto was the presiding genius, and which ceased to exist in 1870, not long after his death. The institution has happily been revived in Florence under Dr. Margulis, the Chief Rabbi of that community. In 1854 the Jewish Theological Seminary was established in Breslau, where some of the most eminent Rabbis and Jewish scholars in Europe were trained by Dr. Zacharias Frankel and Professor Graetz. In 1872 and 1873 two Colleges were opened in Berlin, one, *Die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* in the interests of reformed Judaism, and the *Rabbiner Seminar* established by the late Dr. Hildesheimer, to safeguard the cause of orthodoxy. The teaching both of the *Landes-rabbiner Schule* established at Budapest in 1877 and of the

*Israelitisch-Theologische Lehr-Anstalt* founded in Vienna in 1893 is in accord with traditional Judaism. The principal Seminaries in the United States are the Hebrew Union College founded in Cincinnati in 1874 on the lines of extreme reform, and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America re-organised by its President Dr. Schechter in 1901, the platform of which is conservative.

#### JEW'S' COLLEGE.

You will readily understand why I have omitted our own training College from this list. I am desirous of speaking more fully about an institution with which the fortunes of Anglo-Judaism are so intimately bound up. I do not propose to discourse on the history of Jews' College, as this subject is fully treated in this Jubilee volume. But I would dwell for a brief while upon what I conceive should be the aspirations of the institution, if it is to realize the ideal of a college devoted to the training of Rabbis and Ministers.

The purpose which stimulated my revered father זצ"ל and his co-adjutors to found Jews' College was to train lads and youths of promise to become worthy ministers of religion and teachers of the word of God, men from whom the community would receive spiritual guidance, moral and religious instruction, men who would worthily occupy the reading desks and pulpits of our synagogues, and who would bring to bear intelligent and willing aid upon the administration of our schools and charities. You will, I am sure, agree, that Jews' College has in a considerable measure fulfilled this function during the half century of its existence, though undoubtedly, in the face of grave difficulties which I need not stay to specify. It has sent forth a number of gifted and earnest men, to minister to Hebrew Congregations in the metro-



polis, the provinces, and to communities throughout the colonies and dependencies of this vast Empire.

But the conviction has long been pressing itself upon its veteran Principal and its managers that, if the College is to acquit itself right worthily of its momentous mission, it must be raised to a still higher plane of activity; it must still further elevate the standard, and enlarge the scope of its teaching.

It was recognised from the outset that it was eminently desirable that the Jewish minister should possess the *cachet* of culture and mark of efficiency generally but by no means exclusively indicated by an academic degree. But the problem that for many years perplexed the teaching staff and the Council was the question how the students were to find the time needed for their theological studies whilst preparing themselves for the searching tests of the examiners of the University of London in the varied branches of general knowledge. Happily within recent years this difficulty has been materially obviated. For, while a candidate for the Intermediate Examination in Arts is justly required to show proficiency in those subjects, indispensable for a man of education, the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and of Master of Arts with Honours can be obtained by giving evidence of a thorough acquaintance with Hebrew and the cognate languages — Aramaic and Syriac, critical exegesis of the principal books of our Holy Scripture, and a knowledge of the history of Israel in accordance with the results of modern criticism. Familiarity with the Hebrew commentators, with Mishna and Midrash and with later Hebrew literature is also required. We hail this change with satisfaction, since such knowledge is absolutely essential for the theological student of the present day. And I conceive it to be one of the main duties incumbent upon the teachers



of our College to show and to prove that, whilst some of the views hitherto entertained on minor points must be somewhat modified, the results of sound scientific criticism do not affect and assail that fundamental doctrine of Judaism — the belief in Divine Revelation.

It must be regretfully admitted that this special branch of knowledge — the interpretation of the Bible, as affected by modern criticism, linguistics, the study of monuments and archaeology has been in some degree neglected by Jewish scholars. The only German writer who has had the courage to attempt a reply to Wellhausen and his school, is Dr. Hoffmann, the learned Rector of the Berlin Rabbinic Seminary. There are many gaps in the field of Anglo-Jewish literature, but to my mind none so glaring and deplorable as the lack of a popular commentary on the Bible. And I cannot conceive a work worthier of a Theological College than the preparation by its teachers and by the disciples that have been taught within its walls of such a commentary, couched in a befitting reverent spirit, and based upon the results of scientific enquiry and historic research.

#### THE RABBINIC DIPLOMA.

There is another function which Jews' College is now called upon to fulfil. When originally founded it was for the purpose of educating ministers and teachers, but provision was not made for training the students to become Rabbis. The reasons for this limitation were twofold. As before stated, the subjects then required for the graduate examination were entirely outside the curriculum of a strictly theological College, and the strain of preparing for these tests did not leave the time required for mastering the bulky treatises of the Talmud and the massive ritual codes, a knowledge of which is indispensable for enabling candidates

to obtain the rabbinic diploma. Nor indeed was the possession of such *התרת הוראה* necessary, as the members of our community both here and in the provinces were fully satisfied with the facilities for deciding religious questions afforded by the Chief Rabbi and his Beth Din. This condition has been materially modified during the last quarter of a century. Congregations are springing up in the Australian Commonwealth, in South Africa, and other portions of the British Empire, which require the supervision and guidance of a local Beth Din. Moreover, owing to the unrelenting persecutions in the near East—persecutions of which we are now unhappily witnessing so appalling a recrudescence—vast numbers of the oppressed have fled to our shores. Our brethren who hail from Russia and Poland have been accustomed to consult their Rabbis on every detail of their daily life, and to submit to them questions of *איסור והיתר*, of things forbidden or permitted. At present several communities in the provinces have enlisted the services of Rabbis who, however competent in their own department, are as yet ignorant of the vernacular. It is, therefore, felt that it would conduce to the welfare of the community at large if the various congregations would be enabled to obtain English ministers, who, being equipped with the needful rabbinical learning and authority, would be able to command and to secure the confidence of every section of their flock. The College is therefore giving the needful facilities for enabling the advanced students to prepare themselves for the prescribed rigid examination.

#### FACULTY OF JEWISH THEOLOGY.

These subjects, comprehensive though they be, by no means exhaust the range of studies which fall legitimately within the province of a Theological College. I have spoken of the importance of gaining an insight into the methods and results

of modern criticism. But the study of our ancient commentators must continue to be in the future, as it has been in the past, an essential feature of the curriculum. It is remarkable how these devoted interpreters of scripture have faced and endeavoured to solve difficulties encountered by painstaking students. The commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides and Kimchi and others contain many brilliant instances of light thrown upon obscurities both in the text and the narrative. Time should also be found for some guidance as to the value of the Apocrypha, which, it must be confessed, have been hitherto treated in a somewhat step-motherly fashion. And yet what a fund of light has been shed upon various questions connected with the Canon and the date of composition of some of the Biblical books by the discovery of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus!

Religious philosophy should meet with the most thorough treatment. I do not like the term Apologetics—used for that branch of knowledge which is concerned with the defence and vindication of religion against the attacks of infidelity. When a book entitled “Apology of Christianity” was presented to George III., he exclaimed, “How absurd! Christianity needs no apology.” But our students should obey the rabbinic maxim,<sup>1</sup> דע מה שתשיב לאפיקורוס, “Know what answer to give to the unbeliever,” and be enabled to reply not only to the cavils raised in atheistical and infidel publications, but also to the subtle and therefore more perilous doubts raised by modern scientific theories. There are also the attacks made upon Judaism by Christianity, both the shallow arguments advanced by conversionists, and the more insidious assaults of writers who cast doubts upon the originality of the Revelation contained in our holy scriptures, the Pauline attacks on legalism, the claim of Christianity to have taught a morality superior to ours.

<sup>1</sup> “Ethics of the Fathers,” chap. ii., § 19.

Full attention has, of course, always been devoted to Jewish History and Literature. But it is hoped that our advanced students will be stimulated more and more to independent research, to an investigation of sources, to a study of subjects somewhat neglected, such as the History of our Liturgy, and Jewish Mysticism—a fascinating theme, for the treatment of which a substantial prize has just been offered. For we should aim at constituting Jews' College a Faculty of Jewish Theology, in which these various studies will be pursued in accordance with the highest academic standard, so that it may receive recognition as affiliated to the newly constituted University of London.

I fully acknowledge that, in order to carry out this somewhat ambitious programme, a much longer course will be required. Large funds will be needed to win and to retain competent students by means of Research Scholarships and Fellowships. But material help alone is inadequate to attain this end. Our College needs, above all, the endowment of brains and hearts. I appeal to the young men of the community to recognise that there is no higher, no nobler vocation to which they can dedicate themselves, none which offers richer opportunities for service to the cause of Judaism than this spiritual calling. It is true, such prizes as are offered by our neighbours are not within the reach of the Jewish Minister or Rabbi. Prebendal stalls and episcopal sees do not await the young aspirant to our ministry. Yet no one who has embraced this calling and has persisted in it from pure and high-minded motives has ever regretted his choice. It is surely no slight distinction to become a successor of the **בני הנביאים**, “the sons of the prophets” of olden times. It is a great achievement for a child of earth, by the intensity of his devotion and the power of his religious enthusiasm, to enkindle a like fervour in the heart of his flock, to cause the Judaism he professes and

teaches to be better understood and more sincerely loved. And the faithful teacher in Israel who has accomplished this task has at all times reaped a rich reward even on earth by the affection and reverence tendered by the congregations whom he has thus faithfully served, by witnessing that he has planted in their hearts *אהבת תורה ויראת שמים*, love of the Law and fear of God. And though he may not always achieve the ends for which he has hoped and striven, yet his need not be the lament, "I have laboured in vain and spent my strength for nought. For surely his judgment is with the Lord, and his work with his God."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Isaiah xlix. 4.



## SOME NOTES ON THE PROPHECY OF MALACHI.

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### CORRIGENDA

Page 24, line 25, *after* "true love" *add* "according to the Targum Jonathan of ii. 11. Probably, however, Malachi does not refer to divorce in that verse."

Page 24, line 26, *for* "i. 3" *read* "i.-iii."

Page 33, line 39, *for* "Lord" *read* "Law."

*Jews' College Jubilee Volume.*

the same author this important change was almost contemporary with the beginning of the Greek Era, and the *Keneseth ha-gedolah* (the Great Synagogue), the highest legislative authority of the Jews, included both *nebiim* and *hakhamim* ("Prophets" and Wise men). As to the cause of the cessation of prophecy at that time there are various opinions. Dr. L. Herzfeld (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii.) discusses the question at some length. He argues thus: The activity of the prophets had a twofold aim; they sought to influence the political course of events and to improve

teaches to be better understood and more sincerely loved. And the faithful teacher in Israel who has accomplished this task has at all times reaped a rich reward even on earth by the affection and reverence tendered by the congregations whom he has thus faithfully served, by witnessing that he has planted in their hearts **אהבת תורה ויראת שמים**, love of the Law and fear of God. And though he may not always achieve the ends for which he has hoped and striven, yet his need not be

## SOME NOTES ON THE PROPHECY OF MALACHI.

By M. FRIEDLÄNDER, PH.D.

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The prophecy of Malachi occupies the last place in the Section *Nebiim* of the Hebrew Bible. The compiler appears to have intended to arrange the Minor Prophets in a chronological order, and by placing Malachi at the end of the collection he expresses the opinion that Malachi was the last of the prophets. According to *Seder 'Olam Rabba* (Chap. xxx.) the Jewish traditional Chronology, ascribed to Rabbi Jose ben Halafta, a great change in the history and literature of the Jews took place at that time. He describes it in the following way: "Hitherto prophets, inspired by the holy spirit, addressed the nation; henceforth, 'Incline thine ear and listen to the words of wise men, for it is pleasant to keep them in thy heart'" (Prov. xxiii. 17). According to the same author this important change was almost contemporary with the beginning of the Greek Era, and the *Keneseth ha-gedolah* (the Great Synagogue), the highest legislative authority of the Jews, included both *nebiim* and *hakhamim* ("Prophets" and Wise men). As to the cause of the cessation of prophecy at that time there are various opinions. Dr. L. Herzfeld (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii.) discusses the question at some length. He argues thus: The activity of the prophets had a twofold aim; they sought to influence the political course of events and to improve

the moral and religious life of their fellowmen. In the period of the Persian dominion the prophet had little hope to exercise any political influence on the people or on their ruler. To a far greater extent was the prophetic influence reduced in religious matters, chiefly through the spread and success of the work of Ezra and his school, the Soferim. These taught the Law and interpreted it, and facilitated its study by multiplying copies of the Pentateuch. The people thus became familiar with the Word of God, so that instruction and guidance was no longer sought at the hands of inspired men. The prophets gradually lost the people's confidence. Besides, the principal themes for the prophets' addresses were idolatry and indulgence in luxuries, and for these topics there was no occasion at the time. Dr. Herzfeld further argues that through Ezra the interpretation of the Law became a fixed tradition, that Ezra gave the strongest impulse to the principle that the spirit of the Pentateuch should not be cast into a new form, the standpoint of the Pentateuch being the highest possible. This principle caused the discontinuance of prophecy since those days. Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, ii. p. 165, says: "Malachi foretold for the distant future the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord, on which the difference between the pious and the wicked will be shown. Before that day comes, the prophet Elijah will be sent to reconcile the father and the son. The last prophet exhorted the people to remember the Law of Moses with all its statutes and judgments. With this exhortation prophecy ended. The Torah, which was made accessible to many through the zeal of Ezra, and which had found a number of teachers and students, made the word of the Prophet superfluous. The Scribe could henceforth take the place of the inspired man, and the periodical reading from the Law in Synagogues and public gatherings replaced the prophetic addresses."

But when we consider that prophecy is a divine gift granted to privileged persons and depends solely on the will of God, who in His Wisdom determines the individual, the subject, the time and the place for prophetic messages, we must confess that human intellect is unable to fathom the divine plan in revealing His will to mankind at certain particular times only. Maimonides, who attempted to represent prophecy as an element in the natural development of man's intellectual and imaginative faculties, finds himself compelled to admit that without direct divine inspiration man cannot prophesy.

The prophecy of Malachi is one coherent speech, the object of which is to purify Israel and to restore the love and fear of God in his heart. It contains the following five parts :—

1. God loves Israel, and calls him lovingly His son and His servant.
2. Israel does not duly respond, either as a son or as a servant.
3. Israel's failure is attributed to the neglect of the priests in the performance of their duties as described in the divine covenant with Levi.
4. Israel's desire to learn through Divine Justice what is right and what is wrong.
5. The prophet's advice to remember the Law of Moses, commanded for *all* Israel.

Parts 2-4 each contain two sections, forming a kind of strophic arrangement.

- |                                |                          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (ii. <i>a</i> ) i. 6-10        | ( <i>b</i> ) 11-14       |
| (iii. <i>a</i> ) ii. 1-10      | ( <i>b</i> ) 11-16       |
| (iv. <i>a</i> ) ii. 17-iii. 12 | ( <i>b</i> ) iii. 13-21. |

In his arguments Malachi has a peculiar method; after having



made an assertion he quotes the criticism of the opponents, which is at once answered. *E.g.*, I loved you, and you say, "in what hast thou loved us?" Is not Esau a brother of Jacob, &c. (i. 2-3). *Cf.* i. 6; ii. 16, 17; iii. 7, 8, 13. Occasionally this method has been adopted by other prophets (see Is. lviii. 3; Micah vi. 6-7).

Figurative language is employed by the prophet in the description of the relation between God and Israel. God had made a covenant with His people which enjoins certain duties on Israel, for the conscientious performance of which divine protection and divine blessings are promised. The failure of Israel to satisfy the demands of the covenant is called בְּנִיּוּת "unfaithfulness" or "treachery," the same word as applied to the action of a man who is faithless to his wife (Ex. xxi. 8). When Judah turned away from his faith to follow the customs and rites of other nations, he is said to have married the daughter of a strange god (ii. 11). The true religious life of Judah and his true faith is called "the wife of his youth," "his companion," and "the wife of his covenant." The true love of God as demanded in Deut. iv. 5 and xi. 13 is figuratively described as man's love to his wife, which admits of no rival and tolerates no contradiction between the outward expression and the feeling of the heart. Open divorce is declared preferable to married life without true love. (See notes on ii. 11, 15, 16.) Similar figurative language is contained in Hos. i. 3. Figurative expressions denoting reward and punishment as employed by Malachi are met with in Isaiah and other prophetic books.

### I. i. 1-5.

The heading of the book runs as follows:—

The Burden of the Word of the Lord unto Israel by Malachi.

Malachi is accordingly the name of the prophet who was entrusted with the Divine message contained in the book. The name seems to be the abbreviated form of *Malachiyah*, "the angel of God," or "my angel is God." The LXX has in the title of the book *Malachias*, whilst in the text (i. 1) the word is treated as a common noun and rendered "his messenger." They read מלאכי instead of מלאכי. In iii. 1 the word occurs as a common noun, "my angel" or "my messenger." Some commentators believe that the name Malachi in the heading is due to the occurrence of the word in iii. 1, just as בערב and גיא חיון, in the headings Is. xxi. 13 and xxii. 1, were suggested by the occurrence of these words in the text (*ibid.* xxi. 13 and xxii. 5).

The Targum of Jonathan adds after the name Malachi the explanation "whose name is called Ezra, the Scribe." The same opinion is met with in Midrash and Talmud (Yalkut Malachi, i. 1, and Bab. Talm. Megillah, 15a). Against this theory may be mentioned the fact that Ezra is invariably called "the Scribe" and never "the Prophet." Besides, such Agadic and Midrashic interpretation is not intended to be taken literally. Such identifications may only indicate identity of character, of purpose or aim. *E.g.*, Phinehas and Elijah are said to be two names of the same person, because both were equally zealous in punishing sinners and removing them from the midst of Israel. Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes are identified, because they were equally favourable to the Restoration of the Jews in Palestine and the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem. In the same way Ezra and Malachi have been identified, because they were equally zealous in directing the attention of the people to the Torah. Malachi rebuked the Jews, especially the priests, for their neglect of the Torah, and exhorted his brethren to "remember the Law of Moses, the servant of God, which God commanded him in Horeb for all

Israel, statutes and judgments" (iii. 22). Ezra made provision for the periodical reading of the Law, and provided for the multiplication of copies of the Pentateuch, so as to make its contents accessible to every one. The effect of these identifications may be noticed even in the traditional Jewish Chronology. For the whole period of the Persians' rule in Palestine, from Cyrus to Alexander the Great, a period of more than 200 years, has thereby been reduced to thirty-four years, notice being taken only of the reign of Artaxerxes I., whilst the other Persian kings are altogether ignored. It is, however, possible that other causes were at work in affecting the mutilation of the national chronology. In the first place there is the interpretation of the 70 weeks in Dan. ix. 24, as denoting  $70 \times 7 = 490$  years, and referring to the number of years from the Babylonian Exile to the Destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (see *Seder 'Olam*, by Alexander Marx, p. x.). Besides, it was necessary for the observance of the year of release and the celebration of the Jubilee to have an official counting of the years in periods of seven and of forty-nine years. Times of trouble and persecution by Persian tyrants may have interfered with the laws concerning the year of release and the Jubilee, and indirectly with the Jewish Chronology.

The heading does not contain any particulars as to the date of the composition. But the following considerations may help to determine it approximately:—

(a) Malachi mentions incidentally the title of the Governor of Jerusalem, appointed by the Persian King Artaxerxes. It is the title *Peḥah*, the same which Nehemiah had when Governor of Jerusalem, appointed by the Persian ruler.

(b) The altar for sacrifices was already rebuilt, and the sacrificial ritual, if not flourishing, was certainly re-established.

(c) There are two passages which seem to imply the existence of the Temple; viz. Mal. iii. 1, "Suddenly will he come

to his Temple" (*hekhalo*), and iii. 9, "that there be food in my house" (*bebhethi*). Although these passages admit of another interpretation, it seems more probable, from the context, that the prophet meant to refer to the Temple in Jerusalem, then in existence.

(d) Malachi's name is not mentioned in Ezra's account of the rebuilding of the Temple, and no reference to that event is found in his prophecy. The Temple must then have been already in existence for some time.

The conclusion arrived at from these considerations is this: Malachi prophesied after the return of the Jews to Palestine and after the erection of an altar for the sacrificial service which had been re-established, probably, too, after the rebuilding of the Temple, but certainly before the end of the Persian rule in Palestine, that is, before Alexander the Great. He may have been a contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah, but the proofs gathered from the words of Malachi are by no means conclusive. According to an ancient tradition, Malachi was a member of the Great Synagogue (*Seder 'Olam Rabba*).

The object of Malachi's prophecy was to denounce Israel's laxity in loyalty to his faith. The spring from which the living waters of religious feeling and religious thought come forth has apparently dried up. The fundamental principles of religious life had been undermined: the love of God and the fear of God. Exile and hardships produced scepticism, and people denied God's love of Israel. The prophet brought to his nation the Divine message, "I have loved you." Instead of gratefully and joyfully receiving the pleasant message, the Israelites sceptically criticised it and asked "wherein hast thou loved us?" The question betrays that the Israelites had suffered troubles and mishaps and were dissatisfied with their lot. The prophet in reply points to the condition of Edom. "I hated Esau and laid his mountains



and his heritage waste for the dragons of the wilderness" (i. 3). He does not mention the prosperity of the Israelites, because they were not in a prosperous condition at the time, having suffered from hostile devastations or from bad harvests (ii. 2), not, however, to the same extent as Edom. It was, nevertheless, sufficient to shake their faith in God's love, so that they ungratefully asked "in what hast thou loved us?" The prophet does not indicate when and by whom Edom had been devastated. At the time of Jerusalem's fall Edom seems to have been safe, and triumphantly rejoiced over Judæa's misfortune. The Prophetic Poet therefore reminds Edom, "to thee also shall the cup pass through" (Lam. iv. 21). A similar fate is foretold by Malachi, "And men shall call them 'The border of wickedness' and 'The people against whom the Lord hath indignation for ever'" (i. 4). In this "for ever" the prophet seems to emphasise the difference between Edom whom the Lord hates and Israel whom He loves. Future events will convince the nations of the greatness of God, on account of what He did for Israel (i. 2-5).

## II. i. 6-14.

Israel's faith in God's love being undermined, it is but natural that Israel's love of God becomes gradually weaker and ultimately threatens to disappear. Every sacrifice demanded in the name of God is looked upon as an unnecessary burden, to be dropped as quickly as possible. Care is no longer taken that the sacrifice brought to the altar of the Lord be of the best possible kind, "perfect" and "without blemish." The sacrifice is no longer an outer expression of man's love and fear of God. Israel, called the son of God and His servant (Deut. xxxii. 5; Is. i. 2, xlv. 1; Lev. xxv. 42), is addressed by the prophet in the name of God as follows: "If I be a father, where is mine honour? and if I



be a master, where is my fear?" These words are directly spoken to the priests as the representatives of the people before the Lord. It was their duty to receive the sacrifices and prepare them for the altar, if fit for the purpose, or reject them, if unfit. The priests, however, accepted even things wholly unfit and unworthy as a gift to the Sanctuary of the Lord. In this way did the disregard shown by the people to the service of the Sanctuary continue unchecked. The service, together with the servants of the Sanctuary, was thus brought into the utmost contempt. It was, however, not so much the quality of the sacrifice that constituted the defilement, as the condition of the heart of those who brought the sacrifice and those who were engaged in offering it up upon the altar. "Ye offer polluted bread, and say, Wherein have we polluted Thee? *In that you say*, The table of the Lord is contemptible" (7). The people are then challenged to try to bring presents of the same kind to a human ruler, and to see whether he will accept them favourably. Much less could they expect that God, who is greatly honoured throughout all lands, from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof, would receive them with favour and grant their petition (8-14).

### III. ii. 1-16.

The prophet tells the priests that one more opportunity will be given to them for the improvement of their position as priests and the improvement of the people. All they have to do is to revive the Divine covenant with Levi. In virtue of this covenant they were entrusted with a mission (מַצְוָה) to the people, to urge them on "to give honour to the name of God," and to announce to them the divine punishment in case of disobedience (2-3). The covenant is fully repeated to them (5-7). The chief points of the covenant

are: the Law of truth should be in his mouth, and unrighteousness be not found in his lips; he should walk with God in peace and uprightness, and turn many away from sin. The prophet sees little prospect for improvement; the priests have departed from the way prescribed in the covenant, caused many to stumble in the Law, and have thus corrupted the Divine covenant with Levi. They are especially charged with the sin of partiality in the Law; which is called treacherous dealing of a man against his brother, of Levi against Israel (8-10). Following the example of Levi, Judah neglected the Divine covenant, and adopted the practice of a strange religion (11). The priest who allows these things to go on is cursed by the prophet with the loss of his sons before they are able to take part in the service of the Sanctuary (12).

The prophet now warns the priests that their prayer and their offerings could not be received by God favourably, and to their question, "Why not?" he replies, "Because you are guilty of faithlessness to your holy office; God has testified between thee and the wife of thy youth," He sees everything, His eye penetrates the heart of man, He knows whether man's intention is pure. The least impurity in the heart spoils the worship (13-16).

#### IV. ii. 17-iii. 21.

The priests and the people, on being exhorted to take care that the worship of God be genuine and pure, raised the question, "How did God show to them which was the right way?" They complain, it seems, that God seems to be pleased with those who act contrary to the teaching of the prophet, and if this is not the case, why does the God of judgment not punish the wicked (ii. 17)? Malachi replies: "There will come a day when the Lord will make known the distinction between the righteous and the wicked,

between him who serves the Lord and him who refuses to serve Him. But before that great day rises, God will send His angel to clear the way before Him, to purify and refine 'the sons of Levi' in order to enable them 'to bring offering to the Lord in righteousness.'" The Lord will again receive such offering with pleasure (iii. 1-4). The sinners, says God, I will judge, and be a swift witness against the sorcerers, the adulterers, the false swearers, against those that oppress the poor and have no fear of God (5). The sinners are, however, exhorted to return, and are shown where to begin; if they succeed they are promised to enjoy the blessings of God in every respect (6-12).

The same idea as is expressed in 4*a* is repeated in the section 4*b*. The expression of disbelief (13-15) is contrasted with the words of those who fear the Lord (16); the latter will be spared on the day of judgment, whilst the wicked will perish (17-21).

#### V. iii. 22-24.

In conclusion, Malachi exhorts the people to remember the Law of Moses which God commanded him in Horeb for all Israel, statutes and judgments. This will help them to return to God and escape the terrors of the day of judgment; and Elijah the Prophet, sent by God, will cause all—young and old—to return to God (22-24).

## NOTES.

Chap. i. ver. 1.—(a) מִשָּׁנָה (from נָשָׂא (a) to carry, (b) to speak), (a) the burden, (b) the prophecy. It is followed by the object of the prophecy (Isa. xiii. 1; xv. 1; xvii. 1; a, a); three times by דְּבַר יי, “the word of God” (Zech. ix. 1; xii. 1; Mal. i. 1); and six times by the name of God (Jer. xxiii. 33, 34, 36, 38) in the passage in which Jeremiah denounces the use of the phrase as an offence. According to Jeremiah, the right sense of the term מִשָּׁנָה is “the burden” carried by the man of His (=God’s) word, *i.e.* by the man who has received the word of God to communicate it to a certain person or nation, or the burden is to him whom His word concerns. (Rashi on Mal. i. 1 explains the term in this sense.) מִיָּד יי gives accordingly no suitable sense. It is, first, “the word of God,” and when given to the prophet it becomes *massa*, “the burden.”

(b) *Unto Israel*.—The whole Jewish community, although the greater part belonged to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, is called Israel. יְהוּדִים, “Jews,” is the term used in the Books of Esther, Daniel—especially in the Chaldean parts,—Nehemiah, in the latter part of Jeremiah, and in 1 Chronicles. In Mal. ii. 11 Judah and Israel are used as synonyms.

Chap. i. ver. 2.—Only the fact that God hated Esau and loved Israel is here stated; the causes of the hatred and love are not revealed, as if to say that we cannot correctly judge our fellowmen, for there are things which the human eye is unable to perceive. The conduct of Edom towards Israel has always been that of an enemy.

Chap. i. ver. 2.—Esau and Jacob are brothers, which would suggest that they would both share the same lot, and that the blessings of Abraham would be shared by Edom and Israel. But this was not the case. Even when equally exposed to the terrors of warlike armies the consequences were different. The Persians in their wars with Egypt marched along the Mediterranean coast, touching Palestine and Idumæa, *e.g.* in the expeditions of Kambyzes and Xerxes. The treatment of Judah was perhaps more considerate than that of Idumæa.

Chap. i. ver. 4.—The meaning of the root רָשַׁע, as gathered from the context here and Jer. v. 17, is “to destroy.” Grammatically it might be derived from רוּשׁ, “to be poor,” and רִשְׁשָׁנוּ, “we have been made poor.”

Chap. i. ver. 4.—גְּבוּל רָשָׁעָה, “the border of wickedness,” *i.e.* the land in which wickedness flourished, and the present condition of ruin is the punishment for past wickedness.

Chap. i. ver. 5.—מַעַל לַגְּבוּל יִשְׂרָאֵל, “over the land of Israel,” is in apposition to “the Lord,” and the meaning of the sentence, the Lord, who is or watches over the land of Israel, is great. That is to say, Israel, who



now expresses doubts as to God's love, will then admit that the land of Israel has been the object of God's wonderful love. **למעל** signifies "above" (not "beyond").

Chap. i. vers. 6-14.—This passage consists of two parallel parts, each beginning with a general statement assumed to be uncontradicted and accepted as an axiom, and describes to them the enormity of their sin. In the first part the prophet starts with the rule, every son honours his father and every servant his master. Israel does not honour God, neither as son nor as His servant. In the second part he asserts that God is honoured everywhere, except in His own sanctuary.

Chap. i. ver. 7.—The table of the Lord is, according to Ezek. xli. 22, the altar, and has reference to the sacrifices burnt thereon. It may also refer to the parts which were given to the priests as their emoluments, and the priests, by calling it contemptible, express thereby their dissatisfaction with what they receive as reward for their services in the Sanctuary. See Rashi on ver. 7.

**למנעל**=**מנעל**, defiled, rejected.

Chap. i. ver. 8.—"Thy governor" in this verse is probably not Nehemiah. Comp. Neh. v. 14.

Chap. i. ver. 9.—**זאת**. Such offerings as described here have been brought by you; test their effect and see whether he will respond favourably to your petition. Supply **המנחה**, "the offering which you brought." Rashi supplies **הרעה**, "the distress which your conduct has brought upon us."

Chap. i. ver. 10.—**נם** does not emphasise the word which follows next, but the whole sentence. "Would that some one of you would even stop the sacrifices altogether."

Chap. i. ver. 11.—In order to make Israel feel ashamed the prophet tells them that all other nations from east to west honour God, whilst the people of the Lord despise God and His Sanctuary. It being known that at the time of Malachi idolatry was practised in many lands, various attempts have been made to bring ver. 11 in agreement with facts.

1. Malachi describes what will happen at some future time when all nations will unite in the worship of the One. The participles **מנס** and **מקטר** can have that meaning. Gesenius, 25th ed., p. 347.

2. True worshippers of God are found among all nations, and at all times. Comp. Exod. ix. 16; 1 Kings viii. 11 *sq.*; 11 Kings v. 16 *sqq.*; Ezra i. 2; vi. 10.

3. Jews of the Diaspora, wherever they are, offer up prayers to God and are engaged in the study of the Lord, and thus sacrifice the purest possible offerings to the Lord. Comp. Targ. of Jonathan.

4. Abravanel thinks that there are found among all nations thinkers and philosophers who believe in the existence of a First Cause, the source of the whole Universe. When these people think and reflect on the First Cause they praise, admire, and worship it, especially when they observe



and study the rising and setting of the sun (ממורה, "because of the rising of the sun").

5. Ibn Ezra—All nations *would* truly worship God, if they had received, like Israel, the Divine commandment to do so.

6. Rabbi Jos. Kimḥi—Although they bring offerings to idols, they mean to honour God. ומנחה טהורה and pure offering, not polluted by words or thoughts of contempt.

Chap. i. ver. 12.—ניבו, the fruit thereof, the fruit of the offering, that which the priests obtain, is despised by them. What they consider too bad for themselves is good enough to bring as an offering to God. According to Rashi, "they talk about it," שפתים, "lips" being supplied (cf. Isa. lvii. 19).

Chap. i. ver. 13.—מה תלאה=מתלאה, what a weariness! Comp. מזה =מח זה, Ex. iv. 2.

והפחתם, ye blow against it=you treat it with contempt. גזול, that which is robbed. A thing which has been stolen is certainly unfit for the altar of the Lord, but it is doubtful whether the prophet intended to enumerate "the robbed one" together with "the lame and blind." It may perhaps refer to the physical condition of the animal, robbed of everything that could be taken off—the hair, wool, the feathers, horns, &c., &c.

Chap. i. ver. 14.—Worse than this is the case of the deceiver, who, having in his flock an animal suitable for sacrifice, vows and offers a blemished thing, pretending not to possess a better animal.

Chap. ii. ver. 1.—המצוה הזאת, "this commandment," refers to the message (2-3) to be communicated to the people who come to the Sanctuary with unworthy offerings. The message to be given to the priests is that God's covenant with Levi continues to be in force. Levi is employed here instead of "priests," in order to remind them of the original meaning of the word, "closely joined." The word has the same meaning in Exod. iv. 14; Ezek. xlv. 15.

Chap. ii. ver. 2.—I will curse your blessings, yea, I have cursed it (literal rendering of ברכותיכם, plural, and ארוותיה, singular); "your blessings," the fields that promised a good harvest; the pronoun ה agrees with המארה, I have cursed the curse, i.e. I have already declared the curse.

Chap. ii. ver. 3.—נער, probably =נרע, to diminish. לפניכם =על פניכם, before you; ונשא אתכם אליו, and one will carry you to it; as the suitable place for you.

Chap. ii. ver. 4.—להיות בריתי, in order that my covenant with Levi may continue to be; for this reason I give you this מצוה, this message.

Chap. ii. ver. 5.—God promised by the covenant to give the life and the peace; and I gave them to him as an object of fear, and he feared me as the source of life and peace, and humbled himself because of my name.

My covenant was, &c., I gave them; the verbs in these two verses (5-6)

are in the past tense. So it was when the covenant with Levi was made. Num. xxv. 12 ; Deut. xxxiii. 8-11.

Chap. ii. 6.—בִּישְׁלוֹם, in peace ; there was no conflict in his heart, which was entirely devoted to God.

Chap. ii. ver. 8.—You have corrupted the covenant of the Levite ; the covenant demands that the priest should turn many away from sin, and you have caused many to stumble in the Torah.

Chap. ii. ver. 9.—You are partial in the Torah ; you give different decisions in questions of law to different persons ; you do in this way עוֹלָה, unrighteousness, and are guilty of בְּנִירָה, false dealing ; you are not true to your office as priest, and not true to your fellow-men.

Chap. ii. ver. 10.—Why should a difference be made between a man and his brother? For this is being done by the Levites who defile the covenant of our fathers on Sinai. Some explain this verse as an argument against mixed marriages. This is very unlikely on account of the phrase, “a man against his brother.” Besides, the argument does not seem to prove the proposition denouncing marriages with heathen women. It applies better to the charge of partiality in deciding legal or religious questions.

Chap. ii. ver. 11.—Judah is misled through the priests' wrong decisions. He is charged with faithlessness (בְּנֵר) and abomination (תועבה), terms which are employed in reference to a variety of offences : as idolatry, falsehood, wrong weights, haughtiness, and all kinds of sexual sins. The particular sin of which Judah is accused by Malachi is described thus : “Judah hath profaned the holiness of the Lord which he loved, and hath married the daughter of a strange god.” This passage admits of two interpretations : (1) “The holiness of the Lord” is the Israelitish wife (comp. Jer. ii. 3), who forms the centre of the holiness of the Jewish home ; when replaced by “a daughter of a strange god,” the home is profaned. (Rashi : Judah, who is the holiness of the Lord, has profaned himself by marrying the daughter of a strange god.) (2) “The holiness of God” is the Sanctuary with the worship of God ; the profanation of the holiness of God is brought about by untruthful worship, or by following the rites of other religious sects. Terms expressing relations between husband and wife are frequently employed in a figurative sense.

LXX : ἐβεβήλωσεν Ἰούδας τὰ ἅγια Κυρίου καὶ ἐπετήδευσεν εἰς θεοὺς ἄλλοτρίους. Judah has profaned the holy things of the Lord and has gone after other gods.

Chap. ii. ver. 12.—The man who does it, *i.e.* the Levite or priest who causes wrong-doing by his teaching or decisions. עֵר, one who watches ; עוֹנֶה, one who answers, or who sings. Three functions of the Levites are mentioned here : watching in the Sanctuary, singing and bringing offerings to the altar of the Lord. The curse is, that none will be left of his descendants to perform any of these functions.

Chap. ii. ver. 13.—שנית, a second time, again (comp. chap. i. ver. 9). You will again, as you have done before, be grieved that your prayers before God are not listened to. You will cover the altar of the Lord with tears, weeping and sighing because God will not turn again to the offering and take it in favour at your hand.—Rashi, Ibn Ezra, a.o. : You fill the altar with the tears of the divorced women of Judah. But the cause of the tears is distinctly stated ; they are the tears of those whose prayers are rejected.

Chap. ii. ver. 14.—This and the next two verses admit likewise of two interpretations ; “the wife of thy youth” is either taken literally or figuratively, in the latter case it refers to the worship of God.

Chap. ii. ver. 15.—ולא אחר עשה ושאר רוח לו, “And he hath not made one, if there is a residue of spirit to him,” *i.e.* if man’s worship of God does not occupy “all his heart, all his soul, and all his might,” but has a residue of his spirit that is not occupied with the love of God, he has not in his heart the true worship of God. The object of such unity is to form a godly seed, to be worthy to be called “the children of God.” “Therefore take heed to your spirit that it be not faithless to the wife of thy youth.” There shall be a true and pure worship of God with all our heart. If the words are understood in the literal sense, they contain the lesson : Remain true to your wife and let not lust or any other passion force you to take a second wife. The subject to רוח is יבנוד.

Chap. ii. ver. 16.—The subject to שנא is רוח. When your spirit is full of hatred, dismiss it ; let man cover violence with his garment, *i.e.* clear your heart of every bad thought, of hatred and revenge, but forgive wrong done to you by your fellow-men.

Chap. iii. ver. 1.—My messenger, or My angel (comp. Exod. xxiii. 20) in the ordinary sense of angel ; and he shall clear before me (comp. Isa. lvii. 14). And the Lord whom you seek, *i.e.* the God of judgment mentioned in chap. ii. ver. 17, will suddenly come to His temple, *i.e.* the Temple in Jerusalem. According to Graetz (Gesch. der Juden, II. B., p. 165), the passage refers to the second visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem as governor, and *el hekhale* is the Governor’s palace. The terms of chap. iii. vers. 1–2 are scarcely applicable to Nehemiah.

Chap. iii. ver. 3.—Comp. chap. i. ver. 10.

Chap. iii. ver. 5.—Comp. Deut. xxiv. 14–17. And they do not fear me ; they can hide their guilt from the eye of man, but not from the eye of God.

Chap. iii. ver. 6.—I, the Lord, have not changed ; and though for a long time I have not punished the evildoer, he will not escape, except by repentance. Return to Me, and I will return to you. Pay the tithe and the heave-offering more regularly for the Levites and priests. Blessings of all kinds will be the result.

Chap. iii. ver. 7.—למימי, since the days of your fathers ; you have constantly disobeyed.

Chap. iii. ver. 8.—קבע, to rob (Talm. B. Rosh ha-shanah, 26) ; Targum, היריז, to provoke.

Chap. iii. ver. 9.—You are being punished for your sins, and you continue sinning.

Chap. iii. ver. 10.—The tithe was given to the Levites, and the heave-offering to the priests ; every owner of produce gave the tithe of his produce to any Levite he liked, and the heave-offering to any priest he desired to give it to. This method caused great irregularity and afforded to the owners great facilities to withhold the tithe from the Levites and the heave-offering from the priests. Malachi therefore demands that “all the tithes”—including probably the heave-offering—should be brought to the Temple store-house, in order that food might be in the House of God, *i.e.* for those that do service in the Temple, Levites and priests. This arrangement was made by Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 10–13) reviving an old arrangement that had been allowed to remain in abeyance some time (*ibid.* ver. 5).

עַר בָּלִי דִי, that there will not be enough (supply “room”) to receive it. Ibn Ezra : That there will not be said, Enough, but More than enough.

Chap. iii. ver. 11.—The vine shall not cast off her fruit (comp. Gen. xxxi. 38). All nations will esteem you happy, for you will be a land of delight, in which God and men delight. The fruitfulness of the land will be recognised as the Divine blessing on account of the goodness of the inhabitants.

Chap. iii. vers. 13–21.—Variation of chaps. ii. ver. 17—iii. ver. 12. The words “Where is the God of judgment ?” (chap. ii. ver. 17) are here fully illustrated (vers. 14–15). Words of the Israelites, whose faith in God and His justice is shaken. They are observant, they serve God, notwithstanding privations and hardships they have to put up with.

*That we walked mournfully because of the Lord ;* when punished by Him for our transgressions.

Chap. iii. ver. 15.—*The proud* are Israelites that do not listen to the exhortations of the prophet, and are not affected by their rebukes and threats ; *the doers of wickedness*, who knowingly and provokingly act contrary to the will of God and the teaching of the prophet.

Chap. iii. ver. 16.—The God-fearing men are those Israelites who, moved by the rebukes of the prophet, converse with each other ; the subject of the conversation is not mentioned ; it probably turns upon the scepticism of verses 14–15. They converse about the wickedness of such scepticism and the means by which to get rid of the sceptic thoughts that disturb the peace of their heart. Such conversation has its reward ; it will not be forgotten, for “it is written in the book of remembrance before God for them that fear the Lord and think of His name.” They will form the peculiar treasure of God, and they will be loved by Him, as a son who serves his father is loved by him. Then you will see the difference



between those who serve God and those who do not, whilst the difference between those who fear God and those who do not fear Him is only known to God. In the three verses which follow there is a figurative description of this difference. A fire will utterly consume the proud and the doers of wickedness, whilst a sun of righteousness and healing will make you prosper in every respect. The righteous will then be able to show their superiority over the wicked.

Chap. iii. ver. 17.—סְנוּלָה is either to be connected with יוֹם, "day," or with the subject of יִהְיֶה. In the first case it would signify a day set apart for retribution; in the second case we have to supply אוֹתָם, "them," and explains when the God-fearing men will be appointed a peculiar treasure in the same sense as the word has in Exod. xix. 5. In ver. 21 the same verb, עָשָׂה, is employed absolutely without an objective case; in the day in which I shall act, in rewarding or punishing man according to his deserts.

Chap. iii. ver. 22.—This verse is especially marked as the beginning of a new paragraph by having the initial letter larger than the ordinary letters (ז' רבת). Malachi asks the Israelites to remember the *Torah*, including the מִשְׁפָּטִים and חֻקִּים; the former are probably religious regulations for which no particular reason is given; the latter signifies all such precepts that can easily be deduced from general ethical principles.

Chap. iii. ver. 23.—Elijah the prophet, by his zeal and energy, will be able to effect the desired improvement. Ibn Ezra points to 2 Chron. xxi. 12.



# THE TEMPLE OF ONIAS.

BY S. A. HIRSCH, PH.D.

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## I.

### GENERAL VIEW.

The accounts which we possess of a Jewish temple built by Onias in Egypt are quite a windfall to historical idealists of a certain type. A temple erected by Jews in Egypt for the purpose of offering up sacrifices to God, at a time when the temple in Jerusalem was in a flourishing condition! What a vista is opened up of rebellious spirits that were induced by selfish or unselfish motives boldly to break with traditional usages; who freed their minds from the authority which the centre of worship in Jerusalem had wielded so long over all Jews far and wide! What religious and political struggles must have preceded it; what animosities and rancour must have followed in its train! How it must have affected the whole religious status of Jewry; how productive it must have been in the formation of factions and party strife!

The very poorness of the historical record about the temple of Onias leaves all the more scope for the imaginative powers, or—which is sometimes the same—for the powers of historical combination. Graetz<sup>1</sup> draws a vividly coloured picture of the circumstances attendant upon its foundation. Even Ewald<sup>2</sup> and Herzfeld<sup>3</sup>—the latter of whom has approached

<sup>1</sup> Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 4th ed. 1888, vol. iii. pp. 27 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Ewald's *History* (English Translation), 2nd ed. 1880, vol. v. pp. 354 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. pp. 461 *sqq.*

this subject more calmly and soberly than any other modern writer—start upon their inquiries with a sanguine expectation of meeting with startling historical developments. They think that the erection of the temple at Heliopolis, or rather at Leontopolis, was an attempt to supersede to some extent the temple of Jerusalem. They speak of the creation of a centre for the Jews in Egypt, round which the latter could flock, at a period when Jerusalem, the ancient resort of religion and nationality, was in a state of ferment; when the populace was divided by the strife of factions and the brutality of foreign invaders. They would fain represent the motives by which Onias was swayed when he built his temple to have consisted in a desire of creating a kind of Egypto-Judaism at a time when the promoters of a Græco-Judaism in Palestine had brought the state, the religious institutions, the social and moral instincts of the people to the verge of extinction. They all incline to the view that the temple of Onias was intended to be the rival of the one in Jerusalem; similar to the Samaritan temple, which, indeed, made the pretence of being built on the spot “chosen by God to establish His name there.”

But yet—these writers just fall short of attributing that importance to the new temple. They are bound to admit that, after all, Jerusalem was, and remained, the centre of Judaism, even for the Jews in Egypt, even after the erection of the temple of Onias. It is interesting to observe how these historians open their expositions with vigour and energy, with a hopefulness of finding in the incidents connected with the history of that temple many grand things with far-reaching consequences; but how they gradually cool down, and, while still clinging to their rosy views, end in impressing the reader with the idea that they do not seem to know what to make of it.

## GRAETZ'S VIEWS.

Let us hear Graetz first. He says that Onias IV., after his father Onias III. had been treacherously murdered in consequence of his antagonism to the Hellenising party, did not feel secure in Jerusalem, and fled to Egypt. When the high priest Menelaus had been assassinated by the Syrian court, and the prince Demetrius, having escaped from Rome, invaded Syria, Onias flattered himself that the new Syrian king would assist him in obtaining the high-priesthood, which was the heritage of his fathers. But Alcimus having been made high-priest, and been supported by an armed force, Onias renounced all hope of ever entering upon his priestly inheritance, and took up his abode in Egypt. After describing the military services rendered by Onias to Philometor, Graetz proceeds to give an account of the importance to which he rose among his brethren in Alexandria. He presumes that Onias was their leader and adviser; their protector and their arbiter in cases of discord. He says that "the Judæans, separated as they were by their own laws and customs from the native Greeks and Egyptians, must have considered themselves singularly fortunate in having a man at their head of sufficient authority to knit them together, and to unite them so as to form a community of their own. They recognised him as their prince (Ethnarch), no matter whether appointed by the king or chosen by themselves, and were thus in the fortunate position of forming a powerful united body by having a leader of their own invested with royal dignity. But all the dignity thus acquired by Onias did not efface from his soul the feeling that the events in Judæa had deprived him of the high-priesthood which was rightly his. During the uncertain state of things in his own country, when Alcimus was raised above the rightful family of the priesthood, and after his death,

when this dignity seemed extinct, Onias had lit upon the thought of building a temple in Egypt that should take the place of the violated sanctuary in Jerusalem, of which he would be the rightful high priest. Was he prompted in such an undertaking by piety or ambition? The innermost workings of the heart are not revealed in history. Having obtained the king's permission, Onias built a temple, outwardly not resembling that of Jerusalem. But all the necessary appliances were, with one exception, on the exact model of those in Jerusalem. Priests and Levites, who had fled from the persecutions in Judæa, officiated in this temple. The king decreed that the whole district of Heliopolis should supply the requirements of the temple and the priests. This small province was formed into a little oligarchy, and was called Onïon. It was another bond for the Egyptian Judæans."

"Yet, although the community looked upon the temple of Onias as their religious centre, visiting it during the festivals and sacrificing in its courts, still they did not withdraw their allegiance from the sanctuary of Jerusalem as their sacred metropolis and the temple as a Divine spot; and after its restoration by the Hashmoneans they sent representatives there and occasionally sacrificed there."

Graetz, after declaring that it was Onias's intention that the temple in Egypt should take the place of the violated sanctuary in Jerusalem, and that the Egyptian Jews looked upon the temple of Onias as their religious centre, admits at the same time that the latter did not withdraw their allegiance from the sanctuary of Jerusalem, which they did not want "to depreciate or even to rival."

Difficult as it is to reconcile these two statements, it is still more perplexing when Graetz gives some reasons "why Judæa did not lay an interdict upon the temple of Onias, as she had done upon that of Gerizim," and says that, at a later period,



the Judæans of the mother country looked with displeasure upon that temple, but that "by that time the temple of Onias had taken firm root in the strange soil, and had nothing to fear," and that it was then too late to consider it. Here we see the temple of Onias raised again in significance, as too powerful for Judæa to attempt anything against it in the same way as she had put her face against the temple on the mount Gerizim. Graetz gives this as a reason why the laws in reference to the temple of Onias are so vacillating that a priest of that temple was not permitted to serve in the temple of Jerusalem, although he did not lose his priestly dignity nor his privileges ; and why certain offerings were admitted at Jerusalem, although they were vowed to be brought in the temple of Onias.

#### HERZFELD'S VIEWS.

We turn to Herzfeld, who, as said before, has treated this subject in a much more methodical and sober manner. He, also, attributes to Onias the desire of giving effect to his claims to the high-priesthood, which he despaired of ever being able to establish in Jerusalem in the face of the great merits of the Hashmonean Jonathan. Onias conceived, therefore, the plan of establishing sacerdotal rites in Egypt similar to those in Jerusalem, and for the use of the Egyptian Jews. He wanted himself to be high-priest, undoubtedly with the further intention of gradually acquiring an influence over the Egyptian Jews, similar to that which his fathers had exercised over the Judæans. He appointed priests and Levites to perform the service, and the worship was probably entirely after the pattern of that in Jerusalem. But, on further consideration, Herzfeld admits that the temple never had many adherents, even among the Egyptian Jews, except, perhaps, among those who lived in its immediate vicinity ; that the whole affair was



merely a personal concern on the part of Onias ; that, in fact, the temple was without influence, and remained almost unknown.

#### EWALD'S VIEW.

Ewald is of opinion that Onias fled to Ptolemy after the murder of Onias III., and the occupation of the pontificate in Jerusalem by such men as Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus. "It is not surprising," he says, "that, looking at the desperate circumstances of the legalists in Palestine, at the hopelessness of his own position, and the friendship manifested towards his ancestors by the first Ptolemies, he should even conceive the idea of founding and maintaining a temple in Egypt itself, which should be free from the perversions then creeping in at Jerusalem, and could serve, at any rate for the Hellenists, as an unmolested and worthy centre of union. . . . Onias himself was not one of the lawless, undisciplined spirits of his time. He wished to maintain the whole law as it was then expounded. It could not, therefore, seriously occur to him to question the right of the temple of Jerusalem to precedence, or to deter the Hellenists who wished to offer their gifts and sacrifices there from doing so. Yet the sanctuary in Egypt was to be more than a synagogue."

We see that, according to Ewald, Onias's motives were noble. He was disgusted with the state of affairs in Jerusalem, and his ambition was not to build a rival temple, but a second temple, in the literal sense of the word ; a temple which was, as Ewald expresses it, to be less than the temple in Jerusalem, yet something more than a synagogue. It is to be regretted that Ewald stopped short at this point ; that he did not complete his inquiry by finding out of what nature this "something less than the temple of Jerusalem, but more than a synagogue," may have been.

## II.

## VIEWS ABOUT ONIAS'S TIME AND IDENTITY.

We may congratulate ourselves that, amidst so many contradictory conclusions, Graetz, Ewald, and Herzfeld are unanimous upon some external points in the history of this temple. They agree that the Onias in question was the son of Onias, the third high-priest of that name ; that he fled to Egypt after his father had been slain ; that he built his temple there about the year 160 before the Christian era ; and that the temple remained in existence for about two hundred and thirty-three years. This Onias is looked upon by the same authors as the Onias who, with Dositheos,<sup>1</sup> another Jewish warrior, led the troops of Ptolemy Philometor in his struggle against his brother Physcon ; they hold that Onias was victorious, and that his request to erect a temple near Heliopolis was granted by Philometor in gratitude for his services. But agreement on these points can hardly compensate for the uncertainty regarding the weightier questions, namely, the religious and political importance of the temple, its greater or lesser influence, the motives that prompted Onias in his undertaking, and the political and religious conditions of that age. The uncertainty on these points constrains us to examine for ourselves the original records ; and it may even be that in doing so doubts will arise as to the correctness of the views on those very points upon which the afore-mentioned writers tolerably agree.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*.—*Judaica, Forschungen zur hellenistisch-jüdischen Geschichte und Litteratur*. It is not within the scope of the present inquiry to discuss Willrich's assumptions about Dositheos and the events connected with that name. The section on Onias's temple in the first-named essay is called by Professor Mahaffy (*A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 169 n.) "the best part of this very unconvincing tract." "The best part" is a relative expression. Willrich is of opinion that the importance of Onias's temple has not hitherto been sufficiently taken into account by the historians.

## ONLY ONE GREEK SOURCE.

Here we may state at once that of all Greek sources there is only one which comes into consideration, namely, Josephus.<sup>1</sup> To Josephus we have therefore to turn ; and in doing so we are struck by the fact that the discrepant views of the modern writers are no more than a reflex of the confused and contradictory statements of Josephus. These are so variegated that they require classification ; and a distinction must be drawn, in the first place, between the disagreements of Josephus's accounts in the *Wars of the Jews* with those in the *Antiquities of the Jews* ; and, in the second place, between the contradictions in each of these works themselves. Thus, in the *Wars* Onias is called the son of Simon, one of the high-priests, whereas in the *Antiquities* he is stated to have been the son of Onias. In the former work the temple is said to have been in existence for three hundred and forty-three years, a figure which cannot be upheld if the information in the latter be correct ; which is untenable even if it be allowed that Onias had fled from Antiochus, as it is said only a few lines previously in the book of the *Wars* itself. But the contradictions between the accounts in the two works are insignificant when compared with the confusion subsisting in the statements of the *Antiquities* alone.

## A QUESTION OF METHOD.

A digression about the method that has to be employed under these circumstances will not be out of place. It has already been mentioned that the modern authors agree in assuming that the name of Onias's father was likewise Onias. In one word, they all prefer Josephus's account in the

<sup>1</sup> *Bell. Jud.*, i. 1, 1 ; vii. 10, 2-3 ; *Ant.*, xii. 5, 1 ; *ib.* 9, 7 ; xiii. 3, 1 ; xx. 10, 3.

*Antiquities* to that in the *Wars*.<sup>1</sup> They are induced to do so chiefly by the circumstance that the *Antiquities* was written later than the *Wars*, and that Josephus had therefore ample opportunities of revising and correcting in his later work the inaccurate statements of the older. This is a sound principle, provided the more recent assertions be based upon fresh information, previously unknown, and utilised with sound judgment and a sound historical *akribeia*. In that case, the more recent statements will display a much greater amount of lucidity, of uniformity, than the older views.

But it is quite different when the younger work upholds one of two contradictory statements on a point of importance which occur in the older book, and, in scattered passages, upholds it in such a manner that one passage says something quite different from the other, and all of them together present a picture of sorry confusion, and a combination of impossibilities. In that case it would be idle to speak of corrections from fresh evidence. The writer can then be considered only as a mere compiler, belonging to that class of authors of whom Lessing says that they have a right to forget on the second page what they wrote on the first. Or it may be that the author, when writing his later work, had become conscious of the incongruity of his former statements, and resorted—not to his increased knowledge, but to his critical powers, of whatever value these may have been, for the purpose of harmonising and conciliating the previous records. It may then happen that the author attempts different modes of conciliation in different passages of the same work. In that case, the more recent statements would be the results

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Willrich, who says (*Juden und Griechen*, p. 77), that Josephus's narrative in *Bellum* is usually set aside and yet it is the only one that affords an intelligible picture of the events. Cf. *Judaica*, p. 50.

of more or less sound criticism, but they would not constitute historical evidence. On the contrary, the historical traditions in their original, unvarnished, albeit contradictory form, would have to be looked for in the older work.

Recent research has shown that it would not be so very monstrous to charge Josephus with having been occasionally a mere thoughtless compiler. But even if we consider him, more optimistically, in the light of a historical critic, who revised the information previously given by him, Josephus would be no more than an additional Graetz or Ewald. His accounts in the *Antiquities* could no longer be considered as a source of history. The latter, whatever their value may be, would have to be searched for in the records contained in the older work, in the *Wars*.

#### JOSEPHUS'S ACCOUNT IN THE "ANTIQUITIES."

But let Josephus speak for himself. According to *Antiquities* xii. 5, 1, we are to believe that the high-priest, Simon II., had three sons, the oldest and youngest of whom were both called Onias; that Onias, junior, assumed later the name of Menelaus, and that Jason was Simon's second son. In *Antiquities* xii. 9 and xx. 10, Menelaus is also called the brother of Onias III. and Jason, and the uncle of Onias who built the temple. Having regard to Jewish customs, it seems incredible that Simon II. should have named two of his sons Onias. On the same grounds it appears strange that Onias III. should have called his son after his own name. Ewald tries to remove the latter difficulty by assuming that, perhaps, he was the grandson of Onias III., an assumption that rests upon no authority whatever, except that Josephus, in the *Wars*, calls Onias, who built the temple, a son of



Simon. But this is just one of those statements which are rejected by the scholars, and which are supposed to have been "corrected" by Josephus in his later work. Josephus's assertion that the wicked high-priest, Menelaus, was a brother of Onias III. and Jason, makes the confusion still worse. It appears from the account contained in the first book of the Maccabees, that Menelaus did not belong to the high-priestly family at all; that, perhaps, he was not even an Aaronide, but belonged to the tribe of Benjamin.

The motives attributed by Josephus in his *Antiquities* to Onias for his flight to Ptolemy and his subsequent building of the temple, are equally doubtful. According to xii. 9, 7, and xx. 10, Onias resented that Alcimus had been made high-priest instead of himself. When his father died he could not be made high-priest because he was then an infant, and his uncle Jason was made high-priest instead. Menelaus, who succeeded the latter, was also Onias's uncle. But when after Menelaus's death the office passed out of the family of high-priests, and was given to Alcimus, who, although an Aaronide, was an entire stranger, this was more than Onias could brook, and he left the country to create for himself a high-priestly career in a foreign land.

But Menelaus, despite Josephus, was not Onias's uncle, but quite a stranger, and, perhaps, not even a descendant of Aaron. Onias's ire at the transfer of the pontificate from his house cannot, therefore, have been roused at Alcimus's elevation; he must have become accustomed to the idea during the time that Menelaus held that office. The motive ascribed here to Onias by Josephus cannot have been the true one. It is true, modern critics mould and remould Josephus's words, and come to the conclusion that Onias's flight must have taken place before Menelaus's death. Possibly. But we are not now concerned with that which may be read between

Josephus's lines, but with the lines themselves ; and these contain statements which are utterly incorrect.

But in another passage of the same book of *Antiquities* quite different motives are attributed to Onias. In chapter xiii. 3 we are told that he built his temple because he saw Judæa oppressed by the Macedonians and their kings, and because he was desirous of obtaining for himself a memorial and eternal fame. In point of time we are led again to the period of Menelaus's death. But surely, if the oppression under which Judæa groaned affected Onias so powerfully, his discontent ought to have stirred him long before, during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Not a word is said here about the extinction of the high-priesthood in the family of Onias. He desired to obtain for himself "a memorial and eternal fame" ; a high-sounding phrase indeed, which means nothing, and which is quite in keeping with the tone of the whole passage, which is an imitation of the manner of the Greek historians, who relate the very words supposed to have been used by their heroes in their speeches and letters.

Thus Josephus produces a letter purporting to have been written by Onias to Philometor and Cleopatra, and the latter's reply. We are asked to believe that Onias, in his petition, after reminding Philometor of the great services he had rendered him, pointed out to him the evil consequences of idolatry. "I found the greater part of your people had temples in an improper manner, and on this account they bore ill-will against one another, which happens to the Egyptians by reason of the multitude of their temples and the difference of opinion about Divine worship." He therefore asked the king's permission "to build a temple to the Almighty God after the pattern of that in Jerusalem, and of the same dimensions, that may be for the benefit of thyself, and thy wife and children, that those Jews who dwell in Egypt may

have a place whither they may come and meet together in mutual harmony and subservient to thy advantages ; for the prophet Isaiah had foretold that 'there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God,' and many other things did he prophesy relating to that place."

The king's reply runs: ". . . We have read thy petition, wherein thou desirest leave to be given thee to purge that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus of Heliopolis, and which is named from the country Bubastis. On which account we cannot but wonder that it should be pleasing to God to have a temple erected in a place so unclean, and so full of sacred animals. But since thou sayest that Isaiah the prophet foretold this long ago, we give thee leave to do it, if it may be done according to your law, and so that we may not appear to have at all offended God therein."

Josephus introduces this reply with the observation that it bears testimony to Philometor's piety and that of Cleopatra, "for they laid the blame and the transgression of the law upon Onias." A remarkable instance of piety indeed, for Philometor to repudiate the idolatrous practices in vogue in Egypt, to believe in the prophecies of a Hebrew prophet, and to have tender scruples lest the Jewish law might be violated. This piety is enough to characterise the whole correspondence as a spurious fabrication.

Herzfeld justly observes that this vacillation in regard to Onias's motives sufficiently proves that there existed no historical tradition about them, but that Josephus represented them now in one way and now in another. But this uncertainty is not confined to Onias's motives ; it affects in equal measure the accounts of Onias's parentage. The passage in the *Antiquities*, so far from being capable of serving as a basis of historical inquiry, lacks all the characteristics of historical evidence.

## III.

## JOSEPHUS'S ACCOUNT IN THE "WARS."

Let us now examine Josephus's account of Onias and his temple as contained in the *Wars*. We read there, in chapter i. 1, 1, that Onias the high-priest himself was the Onias who built the temple in Heliopolis, after King Antiochus Epiphanes had taken the city and put a stop to the daily sacrifices. "But Onias the high-priest fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem and a temple that was like to its temple."

We receive similar information in the seventh book of the same work (x. 2-3). "Onias, the son of Simon, one of the Jewish high-priests, fled from Antiochus, the king of Syria, when he made war with the Jews and came to Alexandria; and as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of his hatred to Antiochus, he assured him that if he would comply with his proposal he would bring all the Jews to his assistance. And when the king agreed to do it as far as he was able, he desired him to give him leave to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country; for that the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and that they would then come to him with greater goodwill, and by granting them liberty of conscience, very many of them would come over to him."

"So Ptolemy complied with his proposals, and gave him a place one hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis. That Nomus was called the Nomus of Heliopolis, where Onias built a fortress and a temple, not like that of Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower. He built it of large stones to the



height of sixty cubits. He made the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts, except the make of the candlestick, for he did not make a candlestick, but a lamp hammered out of gold, which illuminated the place with its rays, and which he hung by a chain of gold ; but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large country for a revenue in money, that both the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, and that God might have a great abundance of what things were necessary for His worship. Yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem—and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly, he thought that by building his temple he should draw away a great number of them to himself. There had been also a certain ancient prediction, made by a prophet whose name was Isaiah, about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt."

"And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria . . . came to the temple and carried out some of the donations addicted thereto, and shut up the temple itself. . . . The duration of time from the building of this temple till it was shut up again was 343 years."

The incongruities in these statements, and the discrepancies between them and those contained in the *Antiquities*, are obvious. In the first book of the *Wars* we read that the temple was like the one in Jerusalem, and in the second passage we are told that this was not so, but that it resembled a tower. Even if we were to assume with Professor Flinders Petrie,<sup>1</sup> that the one passage referred to features which were copied from the Jerusalem structure, and the

<sup>1</sup> See *Jewish Chronicle*, 18th May 1906, p. 17.



other to features which were new, we have all the same here a compiler's disconnected reproduction of distinct reports. In the *Antiquities* the resemblance of the two temples is maintained throughout. Although it is clear that Josephus already in his earlier accounts loosely strings together discordant information, yet the detailed description of Onias's temple as given there, and to which Josephus refers his readers in the *Antiquities* (xiii. 3, 3), bears the stamp of historical tradition in much greater measure than the vague expressions about the resemblance of the two temples. Josephus's description as given in the *Wars* is evidently a reproduction of information transmitted to him, and cannot be simply set aside. If it be admitted in evidence, the other statements cannot be maintained.

#### THE FIGURE 343.

On the other hand, if this temple was closed a short time after the destruction of that in Jerusalem, and the former was built either by Onias III. at the time of Epiphanes, or by Onias IV. after the death of Menelaus, it is evident that it could not have existed for 343 years. Some of the older commentators of Josephus attempted to solve this difficulty by substituting 243 for 343 (or rather 233 for Rufinus's reading 333). That emendation has been adopted by all modern writers. Onias III. died 170 B.C.E., and they assume the temple to have been closed in the year 73 C.E.

Ewald says, that if this temple, which was destroyed about 73, really stood for 343 years, we should be obliged to assign it quite a different origin from that which Josephus himself so frequently mentions, but that this figure rested on an error, and we must read 243. "Supposing, therefore," he says, "that the temple was destroyed in 73 (the exact year is not given by Josephus), the foundation would have been

laid in 170 B.C., and this would harmonise well with the circumstances of the period. But in *Antiquities* xii. 9, 7, Josephus relates that at the time of his father's death Onias was not yet of age, and that he did not flee to Egypt till the rule of Alcimus. It is probable that, as his name shows, he was not the firstborn of his father; perhaps he was the grandson of Onias III., as Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 10, 2) also calls him Simon's son. In this case it would be better to read 233 (Rufinus read 333), and the temple would have been founded in 160 B.C."

Herzfeld's opinion coincides with this. Graetz also adopted it in the first edition of his history; but in the later edition he reconsiders this view, and regards the year 160 as too early. For Josephus relates that Onias, in his petition to Philometor, points to the services rendered by him to that king, and that therefore some time must have elapsed between his flight and the building of the temple; that event must therefore have taken place somewhat later, about 155-154. Thus by assuming the figure 333 to be an error for 233, and further altering it, and by eliminating from Josephus's account some of the most salient features, a date is arrived at, by which Josephus's narrative in the *Antiquities* (xiii. 10), which is considered as a corrected edition of his previous statements, can be established. I mentioned before that I consider that account as the least trustworthy of all. As to Josephus's statement that the temple was built during the invasion of Palestine by Antiochus Epiphanes, neither the figure 333 nor 233 can be reconciled with it.

As to the military services which Onias was said to have rendered to Philometor; according to the *Antiquities* these services were rendered first, and the permission to build the temple solicited afterwards. The account in the *Wars* i. 1, makes Philometor's concession a condition of military assist-

ance to be given in the future. This discrepancy must again be attributed to the scantiness of the historical tradition. Josephus knew of a general of the name of Onias, who had assisted Philometor in his war against Physcon. He either supposed, or had read, that this was the same Onias who built the temple. If Onias was the son of Simon, who, according to the *Wars*, i. 1, fled to Egypt at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, he was a man of fame and standing, and in a position to apply for privileges in return for services to be rendered in the future. But if Onias was, as represented in the *Antiquities*, a young refugee, who had never before distinguished himself, it would be preposterous to assume that Philometor would grant him considerable concessions without good reasons, and his military services must have preceded the grant. Neither the one nor the other version is anything more than a conjecture, a "combination" on the part of Josephus, and the assumption in the *Antiquities* is as questionable as that in the *Wars*, if not more so.

#### IV.

##### SILENCE OF HELLENISTIC WRITERS.

Nothing demonstrates more clearly the utter insignificance of the temple of Heliopolis, even for the Jews in Egypt, than the complete silence observed about it by all Hellenistic writers except Josephus. It is true, some scholars thought to have found allusions to this temple in the Sibylline Oracles, and in the fragments of Artapanus; but without ground.

The Sibyllist says<sup>1</sup> that "there would be in Egypt a great and holy temple, in which the people chosen by God would offer sacrifices, and God would grant them to live for ever ;

<sup>1</sup> v. 492 *sqq.*

but the Ethiopians would come and commit crimes, and destroy the great temple of the Egyptian land." This passage does not refer to the temple of Onias, but, like all the verses that precede it, to the Messianic time. We know from Josephus that the temple at Leontopolis was closed by order of Vespasian and not destroyed by Ethiopians. It would be strange indeed if the Sibyllist would have foregone the opportunity of adding one more to the bitter denunciations against Rome, in which the book in which this passage occurs is so rich. It is nothing but an imitation of the prophecy of Isaiah.<sup>1</sup>

As to Artapanus—that judaizing Pagan, or paganizing Jew, does indeed mention a temple in Heliopolis, built by the Jews at the time of Joseph. There is no allusion here to the temple of Onias. Heliopolis was of old a sacred place in Egyptian legends, and it was therefore made by these pseudo-epigraphists the seat of all sorts of wonderful events. According to one of them, Eupolemos, it was at Heliopolis that Abraham taught astrology and other branches of wisdom, during his intimacy with the priests of that place.<sup>2</sup>

#### EGYPTIAN JEWS LOYAL TO THE TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM.

There is no direct evidence of the importance of the temple of Onias, but there is an abundance of circumstantial evidence to the contrary. The Jews of Egypt never swerved from their allegiance to the sacred centre in Jerusalem; they continued to send donations, sacrifices, and offerings to that place. Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) and Cicero (*pro Flacco*, 28) testify to the universality of the usage of endowing the temple in Jerusalem wherever Jews lived. The Jews in Egypt were no exception

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. Alexandre, *Exc.*, v. p. 351. Badt, *De oraculis Sibyllinis a Judaeis compositis*, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*. *Alexander Polyhistor*, 1875, pp. 223, 232. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, i. 8, 2.



to the rule. The loyalty of the Jews of Alexandria in that respect is recorded by Josephus (*Antiq.* xiv. 7, 2). The Egyptian Jews separated the second tithe of their produce, even in the seventh year, the year of release, for the purpose of affording relief to their poor brethren in Judæa (*Mishna, Yadaim*, iii. 4). Philo also relates of the Jews of Alexandria that it was their custom to contribute to the temple of Jerusalem sums of money from their first-fruits, and to convey thither large amounts of gold and silver through messengers, who travelled for this purpose "over rugged, difficult, and almost impassable roads, which they looked upon as level and easy, inasmuch as they served to lead them to piety."<sup>1</sup>

The Hellenistic authors, whilst ignoring the temple of Onias, are never tired of extolling the importance and sacredness of the sanctuary in Jerusalem. The older Philo wrote a poem in glorification of Jerusalem, of which, unfortunately, as good as nothing is left. The authors of the Jewish portion of the third book, and of the fifth book of the Sibylline Oracles, also describe in glowing terms the greatness of Jerusalem and its holy temple. The philosopher Philo lauds Jerusalem and its temple to the skies. He says that the Jews, in whatever country they may live, consider the city "in which the temple of the Most High God is erected, as their metropolis." He speaks of "the most beautiful and renowned temple, which is respected by all the East and West, and is regarded like the sun which shines everywhere." He declares that all calamities are of minor importance as compared with outrages committed against the temple.

If the Onias who led the troops that resisted Physcon's advance from Cyrene was the Onias who built the temple—and Josephus's statement, that Hilcias and Ananias were his

<sup>1</sup> *Leg. ad Gaium*, p. 578.



sons, be correct—it becomes all the more wonderful how Onias and his followers can be believed to have had less ardent veneration for Jerusalem and its temple than the rest of their Egyptian brethren. For when Cleopatra, during her struggles with her unruly son Lathurus, was advised to seize Alexander Jannæus and to take possession of Judæa, it was Ananias who frustrated the design, and even threatened her with the defection of the Jews, with whose military services, under Ananias's commandership, she was not then in a position to dispense.<sup>1</sup>

The district of Onïon, which is believed to have been peopled by Jews for the purpose of establishing a centre of Jewish religious life in rivalry to the ancient one in Jerusalem, set, at a later period, all Egyptian Jews an example of loyalty and devotedness to its alleged rival. "It happened," Josephus says, "that the Egyptian Jews, who dwelt in the country called Onïon, would not allow Antipater and Mithridates, with their soldiers, to pass to Cæsar. But Antipater persuaded them to come over to their party, because he was of the same people with them, and that chiefly *by showing them letters of Hyrcanus the high-priest*. . . . Accordingly, when they saw Antipater and the high-priest to be of the same mind, they did as they were desired."

What then was this temple of Onias, founded at a time when the temple of Jerusalem was in existence, by people loyal to the latter, in the midst of a Jewish population which acknowledged Jerusalem to be their metropolis, its temple their sanctuary, its high-priest their supreme authority?

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Ant.*, xiii. 13, 2.

## V.

## THE BAMA

Onias's temple was the very thing which its founder intended that it should be. As Ewald expresses it, it was something less than a temple and more than a synagogue. It was a Bama, בִּמָּה, a high place. The word בִּמָּה, whenever it occurs in the Bible, is translated "high place." But in the history of Jewish sacerdotal rites the word is a well-defined term to denote a place specially devoted to the offering up of sacrifices. Sometimes the term is applied to a place where offerings were brought to idols, and sometimes to a place where sacrifices were offered up to God. The word never denotes the spot which was meant to be the permanent and central place of worship. Even at the time when the Ark of God was housed at Nob and Gibeon, the Bamoth at these places were not considered as permanent seats of worship.

The question ventilated in the Talmud, whether a Bama was admissible by the side of a recognised central point of worship, agitated men's minds already during biblical times. As in the Talmud, so in the Bible, the prevalent opinion was in the negative. Several kings of Judah, who strenuously set their faces against idol worship, were yet either reluctant or powerless to abolish the Bamoth. Only the most energetic amongst them succeeded in doing so. During the second temple we do not find any other instance of the admissibility of the Bama becoming a practical question, except in the case of Onias.

The relation of the Bama to the temple was peculiar. There was no thought of rivalry or factional opposition. It was a purely religious question. The generally adopted opinion was that, since the building of the temple of Solomon,

no offerings were allowed to be brought, except at that place, and that it was sinful to sacrifice on Bamoth. The opposite opinion was that the use of Bamoth was permitted even after that time. Those who held the latter opinion did not for a moment deny the superior and central importance of the temple in Jerusalem. For aught we know, they may have been as loyal to that central place of worship, as penetrated by its high national and religious significance, as the others. The question was purely and solely this: Were those who, for some reason or other, were precluded from visiting Jerusalem, to abstain altogether from sacerdotal performances, rather than execute them in their homesteads on Bamoth. Those who considered the Bamoth permissible never for a moment thought that the latter could replace Jerusalem, or even that all those rites which were obligatory for Jerusalem could be performed on them. They must have admitted the use of the Bama to be a strictly limited one, and not to be placed on a level with the sanctuary of Jerusalem. The use of the Bama died out during the reign of the last kings of Judah, and was not, as far as we know, resuscitated till Onias built his in Egypt.

It is impossible to discuss here the views set forth by modern Bible criticism in reference to the Bama.<sup>1</sup> We have to deal here with the opinions that were prevalent at the time when the temple of Onias was built.

The biblical accounts as to the permissibility or otherwise of sacrificing on Bamoth seem to be clear enough. Deuteronomy xii. 20 permits the slaughtering of animals for ordinary

<sup>1</sup> It is particularly Wellhausen's hypotheses that demand attention in this respect. The results of the careful scrutiny to which they have been subjected by Dr. D. Hoffman in his article, *Die neueste Hypothes über den pentateuchischen Priester-codex* in the *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, edited by Berliner and Hoffman, 1879, and in *Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese*, Berlin, 1903, have been made the basis of my remarks on this subject.

use outside the central place of worship whenever the latter was not easy of access. This permission seems to presuppose a former prohibition of slaughtering animals otherwise than as sacrifices to God, a prohibition only to be found in Lev. xvii.

The "Ohel Moed," the Tent of Appointment erected in the wilderness, was never meant to be a permanent institution. As long as the people during their wanderings lived together in a camp, the unity of the sanctuary was a matter of course. When the Israelites entered the land of Canaan, the "dwelling" in Shiloh became the central and exclusive place of sacerdotal worship.<sup>1</sup> The "dwelling" of Shiloh was either a portable tent, or, according to the Talmud, a stone building covered with hangings, and was therefore now called בית, "house," and now אהל, "tent."<sup>2</sup> No Bama is mentioned in the whole of the book of Judges, or in 1 Sam. i.-viii., and a sacrifice elsewhere only appears to have been permitted when the place was specially hallowed by a revelation or by the presence of the Ark. It was in the principal sanctuary only that a regular worship was held at all times. There the eternal light burned before God (1 Sam. iii. 3), there the table with the showbread stood (*ibid.* xxi. 7), and there the daily burnt-offering was brought (2 Kings xvi. 15). Jer. vii. 12 proves that Shiloh had equal rights with Jerusalem. In Joshua xxii. a worship outside the sanctuary of Shiloh is opposed.

After the capture of the Ark by the Philistines, Shiloh ceased to be the sacred place. Bamoth appear everywhere. The principal sanctuary was the "Great Bama," first at Nob, and afterwards at Gibeon, both in the land of Benjamin. Deuteronomy allows the possibility that the law about the unity of worship would have to be suspended when the times were disturbed, when Israel did not dwell securely in the

<sup>1</sup> Judges xviii. 33; 1 Samuel ii. 28; Ps. lxxviii. 60; Jerem. vii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Zebachim*, 118a; *Jerush. Megilla*, i.



land, and would be occupied with warfare. Such a period was that between the capture of the Ark by the Philistines and the building of Solomon's temple. No objection is found in the Bible to the use of the Bamoth during that period.

When Solomon had built his temple, it was universally recognised as the principal sanctuary, and it was only after the division of the empire that it was replaced in the North by the temples of Bethel and Dan. A plurality of altars existed during the whole period before the exile; but there is no doubt that the use of Bamoth, while the temple existed, is condemned in the Bible without exception. The prophet Elijah censured those who destroyed the altars, because they replaced them by the altars of Baal.

When Israel came to the Holy Land, and, legitimately or no, private places of worship arose, it was not required that only descendants of Aaron should officiate there. Everybody could act as a priest on a public Bama. Thus were the sons of David priests. Only certain offerings could be brought on such Bamoth, and many of the complicated rites were dispensed with. The regular lighting up of the candlestick, the table with the showbread, the daily offering up of incense, constituted no part of the service on such Bamoth. Deuteronomy xvi. 5-6 declares all Bamoth unfit for the celebration of the Paschal offering. It was only at the "Great Bama" at Nob and Gibeon that Aaronides had the exclusive right of officiating.

The Talmudical tradition considers the various sacerdotal precepts obligatory for the principal sanctuary only; they did not apply to the Bama.<sup>1</sup> None of the minute ordinances and accessory services were performed there, and offerings of communal and national import were not brought on Bamoth.

<sup>1</sup> *Zebachim*, 112b *sqq.*, and elsewhere.



## VI.

## THE ACCOUNTS IN THE TALMUD.

It was an institution of this kind, a Bama, or "high place," that was founded by Onias, and as such Onias's establishment is considered all along in the Talmud. I have thus far refrained from referring to the Talmudical notices about Onias's temple, because I wanted to see first what results were to be gained from the consideration of the historical sources, *par excellence* so called, which in our case are Josephus, and Josephus only.

The notices about Onias's temple that are found in the Talmud are of two kinds; they are, first, accounts of the incidents leading to its foundation; and secondly, a consideration of sacerdotal Halacha regarding it.<sup>1</sup>

The first class includes two reports placed one by the side of the other, or rather, the one in opposition to the other. They are contradictory, and they are given as such, without any preference being given to one over the other. The narratives do not represent, nor are they meant to represent, historical evidence. Rabbi Meir told how the High Priest, Simon the Just, feeling his end approaching, appointed his son Onias to be his successor, over the head of his other son Shimei, who was his elder by two years and a half. The latter was envious, and said to his brother: "Come, I will teach thee all about the service." He clothed him in a garment and a girdle, such as women wore, placed him by the side of the altar, and said to his brother-priests: "Look, how this one is attired; he promised his mistress that he would perform the service arrayed in her garments,

<sup>1</sup> *Menachoth*, 109; *Aboda Zara*, 52b; *Megilla*, 10a; *Jerush. Joma*, vi. 3.

when he would be called upon to officiate as High-Priest." The priests wanted to kill Onias for this; but he fled to Alexandria in Egypt, where he built an altar to offer burnt offerings to idols. Rabbi Jehuda, however, records another report, to the effect that Onias declined the office because his brother Shimei was so much older than he. For all that, he was envious of his brother, and persuaded him to wear the feminine garb on the same pretext, and with the same results, as the other report relates to Shimei in regard to himself. The priests wanted to kill Shimei, but when the truth came out, they turned against Onias. He there-upon fled to Alexandria in Egypt, where he built an altar to sacrifice to God, relying upon the verse in Isaiah xix. 19, "On that day there will be an altar in Egypt."

Herzfeld is of opinion that no historical value attaches to these reports, and gives three reasons. First, he says that Simon the Just would not have preferred his younger son Onias to his elder son Shimei. This is hardly an objection; Simon the Just might have had his good reasons for doing so. According to R. Jehuda's report, Onias did not accept the dignity for this very reason, although he was, evidently, better versed in the execution of sacerdotal rites than his brother. This was, perhaps, the reason why his father gave him the preference. Herzfeld's second reason is, that it is incredible that either of the sons of Simon the Just should not have known what garments a high priest had to wear. This is incredible indeed; but the one brother did not induce the other to wear those strange garments during actual service, but only whilst practising.<sup>1</sup> Herzfeld's third reason is, that, according to the first narrative, Onias was High-Priest for hardly a day, and, according to the second account, not at all; whereas other sources show that

<sup>1</sup> See Commentary to *Jerush. Joma*, vi. 3.

Onias had filled that dignity for a long time. I must defer for the present the consideration of this argument.

The Talmud places the two accounts side by side, without comment as to the greater or lesser trustworthiness of the one over the other, except in one point. The question whether the altar in Egypt was built for God or for idol worship is of Halachic interest, and therefore the Talmud discusses it. The Talmud evidently adopts here the view that it was an altar to God, and all Halachic considerations in the other passages where the temple of Onias is alluded to, are based on that assumption.

#### HISTORICAL VALUE OF TALMUDICAL RECORDS.

But, it may be asked, are these Talmudical reports to be taken into consideration at all? Can any narratives contained in the Talmud be said to have historical value? It is a question which indeed deserves to be fully discussed; but it cannot be done here, being outside the scope of our inquiry. But a short digression must be allowed, because the question bears directly on two points connected with our subject: first, the significance of the temple of Onias; and, secondly, the comparative indifference of the Palestinians about it.

It has become a custom among some writers on Jewish history, to set aside as legendary all historical notices contained in the Talmud, although they do not shrink from corroborating by them their views, when it suits their purpose. Such sweeping condemnation no doubt renders the labour of the historian much easier; he discards a whole field of investigation, the critical exploration of which entails a considerable amount of difficulty. But such proceeding ignores the demands of scientific historical research. How

is it possible to neglect the traces of purely historical tradition that cannot fail to occur in a work which records the mental and emotional life of a race like the Jewish during a period of seven centuries? This is not the method followed by the scientist, who is rather at pains to interpret footprints offered him by Nature which are scattered over the whole globe, and frequently buried deep under its surface. Nor would the historian and archaeologist wilfully overlook the imprints and hints he meets with in his travels and his excavations. He rather tries to decipher illegible inscriptions, half-decayed coins and medals; he carefully investigates some buried trinket or toy, the fragment of some forgotten implement of warfare or husbandry. The Talmud is full of such traces of long-forgotten events, and it is the duty of the historian to try to interpret them. They are met with both in set narratives and in occasional remarks; and the critic, whilst attempting to discover their meaning, must beware both of minimising their importance, and of rearing a quasi-historical fabric on too slender a foundation.

It seems that a reaction is setting in against such uncritical condemnation of all historical information furnished in the Talmud. Mr. R. Travers Herford's remarks on this subject are full of wisdom.<sup>1</sup> He believes that "perhaps we may make some approach to a general canon of criticism on the subject, if we say that, in the literature referred to, the *obiter dicta* are of most value as evidence of historical fact; or, in other words, there is more reason to suspect exaggeration or invention in statements which appear to form part of the main line of the argument, than in those which appear to be merely illustrative notes added to the text and embedded in it. The purpose of

<sup>1</sup> R. Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 1903, pp. 25 *sqq.* I regret that Professor Schlatter's observations on this question (*Die Tage Trajans und Hadrians*, quoted by Professor Büchler in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xvi. 413) were not accessible to me.



the Haggadah (to which all these references belong) is homiletic. . . ." I take, however, exception to the latter assertion, that all these historical references belong to the Haggadah. On the contrary. Evidence deduced from the Halachic part of the Talmud is of the highest historical importance. The "Halacha" is itself a history. It is the natural element which formed an indispensable condition of Jewish life. Historical traditions regarding events were of subordinate importance to the Jew; but the Halachic traditions were treasured up, these were impressed upon the memory and handed over to posterity. The scrupulousness with which each Halachic dictum was attributed to its teacher, and with which its very wording was preserved, even when couched in strange or obsolete terms, was extreme. There was one class of scholars who made a specialty of committing the numerous Halachic traditions to memory, and who were considered as authorities in that respect.<sup>1</sup> Again, it must not be forgotten that neither the Mishnah nor the Talmud is a book in the ordinary sense of the word. Both are compilations. They often piece together *verbatim* sections which are as distant as possible in point of time. It is only by ignoring considerations such as these that Ewald, for instance, declares the Mishnaic notices about the temple of Onias to be later scholastic views. To give one example. The tractate *Middoth* also forms part of that Mishnah which was compiled by R. Jehuda Hanasi and his associates and disciples. It is a description of the temple of Jerusalem, and chronicles in minute detail the "measurements" of all its parts. Is this treatise also merely a reproduction of later scholastic views propounded by rabbis who lived two centuries, more or less, after the temple was destroyed? It was a tradition which was bodily incorporated into the Mishnah, and its account of the temple is, as Sir

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Isaak Halevy, *דורות הראשונים*, iia. pp. 88 sq. ; iii. p. 226.



Charles Warren says,<sup>1</sup> much more explicit than that of Josephus, and appears to be very correct. Modern research and excavations confirm the details contained in the Tractate, which is decidedly of an Halachic nature.

I reluctantly abstain from further dwelling upon this question, in order to consider how these reflections bear upon our particular subject. The historical reports that were current regarding the temple of Onias are reproduced in the Talmud only incidentally in connection with Halachic questions. In respect to that institution, the Talmud is only interested in the question of *איסור הבמות* or *היתר הבמות*; *i.e.* whether certain peculiar conditions of time and place permitted the use of Bamoth in addition to the temple in Jerusalem. Vast masses of Jews were settled in Egypt, to whom the temple in Jerusalem was practically inaccessible, and who were precluded from participation in its sacerdotal rites. Were they allowed to sacrifice on a Bama? In the Talmud the negative answer to this question is almost unanimous, and its ritual bearing is discussed in a calm, matter-of-fact way. Priests who had once served in the temple of Onias were disqualified from serving in the temple of Jerusalem, but retained in all other respects their pontifical privileges. This is evolved from 2 Kings xxiii. 9. Vows to bring offerings, or to become a Nazarite, were, under certain conditions, considered as absolved if the rites regarding them had been performed in Onias's temple. Such decisions have their grounds neither in a more nor in a less favourable view about that temple. They do not emanate, as Graetz assumes, from a fluctuation between approval and disapproval. They are ritual decisions, arrived at in the same manner as those on other questions of religion. Graetz thinks that the partial approval of that temple was forced upon the Judæans, because the latter found themselves unable to cope with the

<sup>1</sup> *Underground Jerusalem*, 1876, pp. 73, 79.

influence which that temple had succeeded in obtaining. Others—for instance, Lucius<sup>1</sup>—propose other explanations of such leniency. But we have seen that the temple had obtained no influence whatever, and that even in its immediate surroundings, even in Onion itself, the Jews respected the authority of the high-priest in Jerusalem. We see how little Ewald's opinion, that such precepts were only later scholastic views, can be acquiesced in. If it had not been for such questions of Halacha, it is doubtful whether the Talmud would have mentioned the Onias temple at all. Such views are part of the history of the Halacha,<sup>2</sup> and put on record aspects of a question that had once been of practical importance.

## VII.

### COMPARISON OF THE TALMUDICAL ACCOUNTS WITH THOSE OF JOSEPHUS.

A closer observation shows that there is not, after all, so great a discrepancy between the Talmudical accounts and that given by Josephus in the *Wars*, vii. 10. The differences subsisting between the latter passage and Josephus's other references to the Onias temple are considerable; and they can be explained by the assumption that reports, similar to those contained in the Talmud, had also reached Josephus. His attempts to blend contradictory information on the subject are already observable in the older work, but he had not then resorted to those critical contortions which produced the incongruities to be met with in the *Antiquities*. It would have

<sup>1</sup> *Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältniss zum Judenthum*, 1881, pp. 82 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Herzfeld, *l.c.*, observes justly: "in der Natur der Sache liegt es, dass solche Ansichten nicht erst damals aufgetaucht sind, wo beide Tempel gar nicht mehr bestanden."

been to much greater advantage if Josephus had reproduced the items of information that had come down to him in their unvarnished, though contradictory, form, and placed them side by side, as the Talmud does. He altogether lost sight of the character of Onias's institution as a Bama. The Talmud calls it בית, a term which leaves its character open. Josephus's Greek sources spoke of a *ἱερόν, ναός*, a temple. Again, out of those who bore the name of Onias, Josephus decided—correctly, perhaps—that one of the more recent bearers of that name was the one who built the temple in Egypt. His account became confused, and the information he had originally received hardly recognisable.

The account in the *Wars*, vii. 10, contains sufficient traces which point to the fact that Josephus's original account considered the institution to have been a Bama, and not an opposition temple. Josephus says everywhere else that Onias intended to build, and did build, his temple like the one at Jerusalem. Here, however, we read that Onias "built a fortress and a temple, not like that at Jerusalem, but such as resembled a tower, . . . but the entire temple was encompassed with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone." The resemblance of the altar to that of Jerusalem, but, at the same time, the absence of a candlestick, which Josephus is careful to notice, point in the same direction. The sole object of a Bama was the offering up of sacrifices; in fact, the word Bama is to a great extent equivalent to מזבח, altar. All other paraphernalia were dispensed with on a Bama; and, in spite of Josephus's statement that "he made the structure of the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and in like manner adorned with gifts," and although Josephus only notes the absence of a candlestick, we may be certain that there was no golden altar for incense, nor a table for showbread. Professor Flinders Petrie, in his brief descrip-

tion of his explorations on the site of Onġon,<sup>1</sup> assumes that a "block of the brick foundation, 55 feet long and 17 feet wide," was that of the "Holy of Holies." Whatever use that structure may have served, I doubt whether the "Holy of Holies" was represented in any part of Onias's temple. All that Onias desired of Ptolemy was, it is said here, that leave be given him "to build a temple *somewhere in Egypt*, and to worship God according to the customs of his own country."

This leads us to another consideration, namely, that the report, or, at least, one of the reports, from which Josephus drew his information, was substantially the same as the one which underlies the Talmudic accounts. In the first place, Josephus says here, and in *Wars*, i. 1, that Onias was the son of "Simon, one of the Jewish high-priests." This accords with the Talmudic notice that he was the son of Simon the Just.

Again, Josephus says here that Onias fled from Jerusalem and "came to Alexandria" (in the Talmud we read והלך לאלכסנדריא של מצרים, "and he went to Alexandria in Egypt"), and asked for leave to build a temple *somewhere in Egypt*. In the *Antiquities*, on the other hand, Onias is related to have pointed out a particular spot, and even a particular ruin, on which he was desirous of erecting his temple. We read in the Talmud that Onias built his "house" in Alexandria; "he went to Alexandria in Egypt ובינה שם, and built there." "Alexandria" must perhaps be taken in a wider sense, or the word, שם, "there," may apply to the word "Egypt," which immediately precedes it, or it is simply an inaccuracy in the report. However this may be, Onias's request for the ruins of a particular idolatrous temple, as stated in the undoubtedly fictitious correspondence between him and Ptolemy, is probably no more than an embellishment, based on some passage in one of those Hellenistic

<sup>1</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, March 16, 1906, p. 35.



historical romances, fragments of which have been preserved in the extracts from Alexander Polyhistor. The notice that he petitioned for leave to build a temple *somewhere in Egypt* has a far more genuine ring.

Another reminiscence of the Talmudic report is Josephus's addition, that although Onias was anxious to worship God in a suitable manner, "yet did not Onias do this out of a sober disposition, but he intended to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem. He could not forget the indignity he had suffered by being banished hence. . . . There had been also a certain ancient prediction, made by a prophet whose name was Isaiah, that this temple should be built by a man who was a Jew in Egypt." The whole sentiments, which, according to Josephus's statements elsewhere, were the sole motives that actuated Onias, are not mentioned here, but spite and revenge mingled in a large measure with his otherwise religious impulses. This is quite in agreement with the Talmudic narrative, in which Isaiah's prophecy also plays an important part.

These points—that Onias was the son of Simon, that he built a place of worship in Egypt unlike the temple of Jerusalem, that he fled from Jerusalem to Alexandria, that resentment largely mingled with his religious sentiments, that he relied on the prophecy of Isaiah—these, and a few other details, must be considered as the gist of the tradition which has come down to the Talmud and to Josephus alike. The other portion of the account in the *Wars*, that Onias fled from Antiochus Epiphanes, the thought that "by building a temple he should draw away a great number of Jews from Jerusalem to himself," that he promised the king a much readier assistance by the Jews in his war against Antiochus if he would grant his request; all these points were blended by Josephus with the other account, on the ground of other co-existing



reports about Onias's parentage, and about the Onias who had assisted the king in his warfare. But Josephus, on finding subsequently that such amalgamation of incongruous reports was not satisfactory, attempted other solutions when writing his *Antiquities*, and produced the confusion mentioned before.

Those authors who make Josephus's later account the basis of their investigations are induced to handle a notice in the older account rather freely. They agree that the statement that this temple was closed by Lupus after an existence of three hundred and forty-three years must be incorrect. Of course, if the temple was built during Antiochus's invasion, or shortly after, the figure 343 cannot possibly be upheld. The way they attempt to amend the reading has already been mentioned. Let me add, in favour of altering the figure, that Josephus alludes to the prophet Isaiah as having lived about six hundred years before, and that Maimonides stated<sup>1</sup>—I do not know from which source—that the Onias institution existed for two hundred years.

Notwithstanding, I believe 343 (or, as Rufinus read, 333) to be the correct reading. Josephus's notice that "the duration of the time from the building of the temple till it was closed was 343 years," formed part of that narrative, according to which Simon the high-priest was the father of Onias who built the temple. But both here and in the Talmud Simon the Just is meant; and the Simon the Just, both of the Talmud and of Josephus, is Simon I.

#### SIMON I.

Scholars differ about the identity of Simon the Just; some identify him with Simon I., and others with Simon II. Ben-

<sup>1</sup> Commentary to the Mishnah, *Menachoth*, l.c.

Sira's panegyric on the High-Priest Simon is drawn into the discussion ; most writers are of opinion that this Simon, be he the first or the second high-priest of that name, was Simon the Just. Ewald inclines to the belief that, although Simon the Just was Simon I., yet it was not he, but Simon II., who was eulogised by Ben-Sira.

There is, however, no reason to assume that Simon the Just was the second high-priest of that name, or that he was not the same Simon of whom Ben-Sira speaks. In the Talmud (*Joma* 69*b*) Simon the Just is represented as the contemporary of Alexander the Great. He is undoubtedly the same who is called in the Mishnah of Aboth one of the last of the Synagoga Magna. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 2, 5 ; 4, 1) says that Simon I. was called Simon the Just. He whose praises were sung by Ben-Sira can only have been Simon I., for he is said to have rebuilt Jerusalem's walls, and to have fortified the temple.<sup>1</sup> Besides, a glowing encomium like that of Ben-Sira on Simon would not have been bestowed upon a contemporary ; it could only have been conferred upon a departed hero, whose fond remembrances had already been idealised, and whom the perspective of time had turned into a sainted personage. But I consider the argument clinched by Josephus's statement that Onias's temple existed for 343 years.

The succession of high-priests after Simon I. is stated to have been Eleazar, Manasseh, Onias. But it is doubtful whether Eleazar ever succeeded Simon I. ; or rather, whether such Eleazar ever existed. As Graetz says, he most likely owes his existence only to the legendary account contained in the so-called Aristeas letter. If, then, we eliminate his name from the series of high-priests, the year 270, which was calculated by Graetz to be the year of the death of Simon the First, must come very near the truth. Taking the Talmudical

<sup>1</sup> Graetz, vol. iii. 4th ed. p. 235.

account, which I consider to be identical with the one that induced Josephus to call Onias a son of Simon, the temple in Egypt must have been built shortly after the death of Simon I., *i.e.* shortly after 270 B.C.E. But, according to Josephus, that temple was closed, by Vespasian's order, by Lupus, say about 73 C.E. Add 270 to 73, and the result will be that the temple existed for 343 years, or, allowing for the time that elapsed between Onias's flight and the building of the temple, 333 years, as Rufinus has it.

The difficulty raised by Herzfeld as to the duration of the high-priesthood of Onias III., the son of Simon II., of which mention has been made already, would apply with the same force to Onias II., the son of Simon I. How long could Onias, the son of Simon I., have occupied the dignity of high-priest, if he was obliged to flee to Egypt shortly after his father's death, especially as his uncle is said to have preceded him? He might, of course, have become reconciled to the authorities in Jerusalem at a later stage, but he would hardly have been allowed to officiate in the temple, once he had sacrificed in Egypt on a Bama. We should have to assume then that the duration of his high-priesthood must have been very short indeed. But the difficulty is not so great as it would appear at first sight. The succession of high-priests after the death of Simon I. is shrouded in mystery. The contradictory nature of the historical record has been set forth by Professor Büchler, who attempts forcibly to cut several of these knots by a new theory of his own.<sup>1</sup> The probability of the non-existence of an Eleazar has already been mentioned. Not less uncertain are the conditions under which Onias II. must have assumed the office. The frequent recurrence of the names of Onias and Simon must have become at a later time a fertile source of confusion. It would be curious, indeed, if both Onias II.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Oniaden und die Tobiaden*, 1899.

and Onias IV. should have been precluded from succeeding their fathers on account of their youth, as Josephus hints in one case and states in the other (*Ant.* xii. 2, 5 and 5, 1).

## VIII.

### JEWISH POPULATION IN EGYPT.

The view that the so-called temple of Onias was a Bama fully accounts for the strange phenomenon, which would otherwise be inexplicable, that the Egyptian Jews retained their unwavering loyalty to Jerusalem and its temple by the side of a place for sacerdotal worship of their own. The existence of a Bama in Egypt is natural enough. There was a large Jewish population in Egypt, especially in the Fayûm, but also in other parts. The early records of a Jewish immigration into Egypt on a larger scale point to Alexander the Great. He is stated to have treated the Jews with great favour. They served in his army. He settled a great number of them in Alexandria, and gave them rights equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks of that city. They founded villages in the Fayûm, but their stay was not confined to that district. They spread in all directions. Even before Alexander there were many Jews in Egypt. There was a constant increase under the Ptolemies. This was the outcome, partly of enforced immigration, and partly of a natural development of the intercourse between Palestine and Egypt. Recent research and excavations bring to light fresh evidence of Jewish settlements in Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 85 *sqq.*; id. *The History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, pp. 92 *sqq.*, 168 *sqq.* Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, p. 194. H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen*, p. 138; and particularly the authorities quoted by these authors.



## THEIR OBSERVANCE OF THE SACERDOTAL RITES.

It is certain that the Jews of Egypt made regular pilgrimages to Jerusalem and its temple. This proves their unswerving devotion to their ancient country and its sanctuary. But it proves more. It proves their devotion to the Law of Moses, and the great importance they attached to the sacerdotal rites. These could not be done justice to by them except occasionally, and by comparatively few only. It must have been repugnant to the Egyptian Jews to be precluded from observing the precepts about the offerings, whilst capable of keeping almost all other injunctions demanded by the Law. The old expedient of "sacrificing on high places" was resorted to. There may have been contributory circumstances, such as the discord about the pontifical succession, as recorded in the tales about Onias, the founder of the "Temple" of Onion. The exact situation of that locality is uncertain. Conjecture, based upon recent research, wavered between Tell-el-Yahoudiyeh (mound of the Jew), thirty-four kilometres from Cairo, and one of the neighbouring Tells.<sup>1</sup> Professor Flinders Petrie believes that his still more recent investigations have raised the former assumption into certainty.<sup>2</sup>

## RELATIONS OF THE PALESTINIANS TO THIS BAMA.

The existence of a Bama in Egypt did not interfere with the love of the Egyptian Jews for their mother country and their temples. Therefore the antagonism of the Jews in Jerusalem against those who indulged in such contumacy was not of a virulent character. All that some modern authors

<sup>1</sup> E. Nashville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias* (7th Memoir of the Egyptian Exploration Fund), pp. 18 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Jewish Chronicle*, *l.c.*



aver about factions, frictions, contentions between the Jews of Jerusalem and those of Onïon on account of that "Temple" are so many gratuitous assumptions. There is not a shadow of historical evidence to justify that view. It is doubtful whether any number of Jews in Palestine knew of the existence of Onïon. Those who may have heard about it<sup>1</sup> could only consider it as an aberration, as the result of an error of judgment in the decision on a question of sacerdotal ritual. This circumstance, coupled with the unwavering loyalty of the Jews of Egypt to the sanctuary in Jerusalem, explains the equanimity with which that temple and its priests are treated in the Mishnaic records.

#### ONE BAMA OR MORE?

That the Jewish population in various districts of Egypt was considerable, is an established fact. But once it is conceded that some Egyptian Jews thought it right to build an altar, a Bama, for sacrifices, in the presence of the temple of Jerusalem, the question obtrudes itself upon us, whether it may not have been the case that more than one Bama had been erected in Egypt; whether the desire of upholding the sacerdotal laws may not have manifested itself in more than one Jewish-Egyptian centre? It is possible. It is true we find in the Talmud an allegation to that effect. There verse 18 in the nineteenth chapter of Isaiah is brought into connection with a tradition that there were no less than five cities in Egypt in which an altar to God had been erected. Of course, this Talmudical passage is only an *ex parte* notice, and may be taken as a Midrashic expansion of the verse. But may it not be one of those *obiter dicta* which represent,

<sup>1</sup> *Megilla*, 10a, R. Isaac says שמעת', *I have heard* that offerings are brought in the house of Onias.

in their Midrashic garb, the faint echo of a tradition of actual fact? It would be as great an error to ignore the point as to press it unduly. Perhaps, at some future time, further investigations of the Egyptologists will throw some light upon this point also.

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## A KARAITE CONVERSION STORY.

BY HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D.

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The records of the Jews in Egypt under Mohammedan rule are not very rich in facts of historical importance. Being almost entirely excluded from taking part in the affairs of state, their fate varied according to the religious inclinations of the rulers. Official intolerance reached its apogee under the sceptre of the Khalifa Al Hâkim (who died about 1020), and it was not till 150 years later that a change was wrought by the fall of the Fatimide dynasty and the simultaneous termination of ecclesiastical government in Egypt. With the arrival of secular rulers, the first of whom was the famous Saladin, an era of comparative tolerance was inaugurated which, with short interruptions, lasted during the periods of the Seljûk and Mamlûk Sultans.

The political insignificance of the Egyptian Jews during this period is accurately reflected in the historical sources at our disposal. Arab authors did not pay much attention to their affairs. Even Jewish travellers and chroniclers, such as Benjamin of Tudela and Sambari, have not much to tell about them. As regards the communal, social, domestic, and literary life, however, these Jews themselves have provided a vast material of documents of every imaginable kind, preserved in what is known as the Cairo *Genizah*. When this material has been sifted and studied, our knowledge of this chapter of Jewish history will be immensely enriched.

The lot of the Egyptian Jews under the rule of Sultan Al Malik Al Zāhir Khoshkadem (1461–1467) was, on the whole, a tolerable one. With the exception of one instance when he, to please the clergy of his faith, renewed the old law forbidding Jews and Christians to hold public offices, and to wear turbans or other than special colours,<sup>1</sup> they were allowed to practise their religion undisturbedly. Even these restrictions seem to have been as gradually forgotten as had been done on former occasions. As an indirect sign of the absence of official annoyance we can regard the case of a serious quarrel which at that time arose between the two sections of the community of Fostāt (Old Cairo).

The Jewish inhabitants of this city were divided into a larger Rabbanite and a much smaller Karaite community, the former possessing eight synagogues<sup>2</sup> and the latter only two. The names and topographical description of these synagogues have been handed down to us by the Arab historian, Al Makrīzi, who finished his bulky *Description of Egypt*<sup>3</sup> about fifteen years prior to the incident which forms the subject of this study. Several of these synagogues are mentioned again by Joseph Sambari, who compiled his "Chronicles"<sup>4</sup> in the latter half of the seventeenth century. It is only necessary to compare the number of these synagogues with that given by Benjamin of Tudela to see how considerably the Jewish community of Fostāt had increased during the intervening three centuries. From Benjamin's silence concerning the Karaite and Samaritan communities we may infer that, at his time, they either did not exist in Cairo or were of little account.

An interesting point in connection with the incident in

<sup>1</sup> See Weil, *Geschichte der Abbassidenchalifen in Egypten*, ii. p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> See Zunz in *Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Asher, ii. p. 198 sqq. Cf. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> *Bulāk*, 1853, ii. pp. 464 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, i. pp. 136 sq.

question is that it contributes to our knowledge of the holders of the dignity of Nāgid among the Egyptian Jews.<sup>1</sup> The Nāgid of the Rabbanite Jews at the period with which we are concerned was Joseph b. Khalifa, whilst the chief of the Karaites was called Al Shams b. Abdul Karīm b. Feirūz, who was also the Sultan's banker.

The report upon which the following story is based is taken from a MS. of the British Museum (Or. 2538, fol. 73-83), and is headed "Story of the Europeans who adopted the laws of the Karaites." It is written in vulgar Arabic, but in Hebrew characters, and is occasionally intermixed with Hebrew words, phrases and quotations from the Bible. As can be gathered from the title, the anonymous author was a Karaite, and, to judge from the fact that he now and again speaks in the first person, he was an eye-witness of the affair. The account must, however, have been penned some years after the incident had taken place, as several persons who were connected with it are alluded to as deceased.

The most remarkable part of the story is undoubtedly the interference of the Moslim judicial authorities in a matter which concerned the internal affairs of the Jewish community exclusively. This interference was not, however, foisted upon them but solicited by the Karaites. The decisions of the judges are nevertheless distinguished by great impartiality. This is even the case in the Fatwa of the Shāfi High Kādhi, whose seeming intolerance was nothing but the expression of the law of his country. For it is laid down that in Moslim lands no one may change his religion unless he adopt Islām.<sup>2</sup>

The episode of the judicial inquiry brings us to the question of the authenticity of the report, or, at least, of the accuracy

<sup>1</sup> *Magazin für die Wissensch. des Judenthums*, vol. xvii. pp. 50-58; Graetz. *Gesch.*, vi. p. 306. See also Bacher in *J.Q.R.*, xv. pp. 88 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See Sachau, *Mohammedan. Recht nach schafeitischer Lehre*, p. 844.



of many details. As can easily be seen, the author does not take the slightest trouble to hide his bias, and the triumphant way in which he, somewhat in the style of the concluding chapters of the Book of Esther, describes the discomfiture of the Rabbanites, cannot fail to arouse the suspicion that his account is highly coloured. Many statements he makes must, therefore, be received with caution.

On the other hand, the report mentions the names of about twenty persons, some of whom can be proved to be historical from other sources. This is the case with four of the five Kādhis who signed the Fatwās. One of these, the Shafii Kādhi Yahya Al Munāwi,<sup>1</sup> was a man of high position, and the Arab historian, Al Suyūti (to whom we owe lists of the Kādhis of the four different schools), states that he composed a dirge on the occasion of his death. The absence of the name of the Māliki Kādhi from Al Suyūti's lists is accounted for by the fact that it ends with the year 1442, whilst the Karaite appeal to the courts of justice did not take place till three-and-twenty years later. The list is therefore supplemented by our report. The introduction of the Kādhis into the story forms a strong element of historical veracity. Finally, even the bribes extracted by several high officials of state, and the Sultan's son in particular, are in keeping with what historians relate about the usages in vogue under Khoshkadem's government as well as his own character.<sup>2</sup>

In the background of the story we see the spectacle of the persecutions of the Jews in Christian Spain. The people on whose account the feud arose had come from Toledo, and were probably Marranos. This may be gathered from one remark in the tale in which it is intimated that they might

<sup>1</sup> See p. 89, rem. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Weil, *l.c.*, p. 314; S. L. Poole, *The Story of Cairo*, p. 236 ("Justice was bought and sold").

be Christians. Incidentally we also learn that the Egyptian Jews were not possessed of great wealth; further, that the prohibition of holding land, except by special permission of the Sultan, was strictly enforced, and finally, that the main centres of Karaism at that period were Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey. In Spain Karaism had already dwindled down to vanishing point.

The following translation of the report is somewhat abridged, especially in the latter portions, a certain amount of trivial matter being omitted. The style is occasionally so confused and rambling that, if all this were reproduced, it would be difficult to keep the thread of the story.

### STORY OF THE EUROPEANS WHO EMBRACED THE LAW OF THE KARAITES.

In the blessed month of Ellül 1776 of the era of Documents, which is the year 5225 of the creation of the world (1465), there arrived at Al Kāhira a Jewish sage of great learning named Aaron the Pious (of blessed memory). He came from the country of Ifranj<sup>1</sup> and the city of Toledo. With him were two brothers, of whom one was called Joseph, the other David. They were accompanied by twenty-one compatriots. This man went to dwell in the Karaite quarter. A prominent member of the Karaite community (which may the Almighty preserve) called upon him, and they conversed together on matters of the law, and on their axioms of belief as well as ours. He (the visitor) informed them that they did not believe in the Mishnāh or in the Talmud, that all his life he had not eaten of the tail [of a sheep], because he knew that it belonged to the forbidden fat,<sup>2</sup> and that he endeavoured to find those who followed the Tōrāh of the Lord, and did not

<sup>1</sup> *Europeans*.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. iii. 9; ix. 20. Cf. Ibn Ezra and Naḥmānides.

hold with those who contradicted the teaching of Moses. He [the stranger] asked us to observe silence concerning his affairs, and added that he intended travelling to Jerusalem and back again. We acceded to his request. He then, as an act of penitence, left for Jerusalem, whilst his companions remained in Al Kāhira. He had given them instructions concerning their mode of life, and all this remained secret till the month of Tishri. Then arose a difference between us and the Rabbanites [in the following manner]. If the Rabbanites celebrated New Moon on the Sabbath, the Karaites fixed the same according to their usual method, and zealously kept the practice of the true observation of the moon.

The brother of the [above-mentioned] man came to us and said: "We will fast the Day of Atonement only with you on Wednesday."<sup>1</sup> We replied: "Do as you please." Something concerning this came to the ears of the Rabbanites. On the eve of the Day of Atonement the Rabbanites sent their Nāgid, whose name was Joseph b. Khalifa, to [the above-named] David, with whom he held a secret conversation. "I have been informed," he said, "that<sup>2</sup> . . . you do not eat of our food, and that you live in a fashion different from ours." He replied: "Yes, we do not eat the tail, because it is forbidden in the Tōrāh."<sup>3</sup> The Nāgid said: "The Sages declared it lawful, and said that it did not belong to the forbidden fat." "I do not listen to the Sages," said he, "at all in these matters, and will not eat of the tail." "You contradict, then," the Nāgid replied, "the Sages, but whoever does so in any point is liable to be put to death according to Deut. xvii. 11-12." These sentences, the other answered, do not refer to the Sages,

<sup>1</sup> Rabbanite New Year in 1465 fell on a Saturday and the Day of Atonement on a Monday.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. 74vo. In the original:

בלגני אן נסואנכם ראחו ללחמאם אמם מא הדא אלדי פעלחוה.

<sup>3</sup> *Talmud*, Hullin, fol. 117vo (Lev. ix. 19).

but to the "Priests, Levites, and the Judges who shall live in those days." This will be confirmed by any one who reads this chapter through. Bring a copy of the Tōrāh and read Deut. xvii. 5 *sqq.* The Nāgid then said: "This is apostasy; you are Karaites."

Thereupon David went before the [Karaites] community and told them what had passed between him and the Nāgid. "I am afraid of the Rabbanites," said he, "because our condition has come to their knowledge. As long as we stay here we shall keep our ways, and you should know that we do not live like non-Jews.<sup>1</sup> Should we adopt Karaite ways and deny those of the Rabbanites, they would find us out." The Karaites answered: "Fear nothing; should the Moslems become aware of this we will give them the necessary explanation<sup>2</sup> as to what prevented you, when you first came to Al Kāhira, from stating that you follow Karaite ways, and that you are not familiar with our customs in this city." He answered: "We have been living six years in this country,<sup>3</sup> but we did not find one who followed the way of the Tōrāh exclusively. Every one to whom we speak bows to the decisions of the Mishnāh and Talmud, and forsaking the written Tōrāh, says one thing and does another. They tell us that we belong to the Karaite Jews who live in Egypt, Palestine, Turkey, and Persia, and arrange their religious affairs according to the literal meaning of the Tōrāh, declare it unlawful to eat of the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. fol. 75ro, l. 7, —

אן כנתם תערפו אן מא עלינא אמר מן אומות העולם אדא תמדהבנא במדהב  
בני מקרא ונחנא מדהב ארבהנין פערפונא.  
מדהב is a verbal form derived from תמדהבנא.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. *ibid.*, —

אן מא עלינא ולא עליכם כוף ואן הדא אלאמר גאיז ענד אלישמעאלים וקלנא  
להם איצא איש אלמוגב אלדי מנעכם אלדי אול מא גיתו אלי אלקאחרה מא  
קלתו נחן מאשיין עלי מדהב בני מקרא.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. *ibid.*, סנין דאירין אלבלאד נגאדל יהוד אלבלאד.



pig, but permit the sow to be eaten, asserting that the Tōrāh only speaks of the male pig.<sup>1</sup> We wonder at such words, and whenever we hear Karaites speak we tell them what *our* ways are and what theirs. If we knew the Karaite way to be the right one we would come to you with all our heart."

We (the Karaites) said to them: "Fear not, the Almighty will help you if it pleases Him, because whoever trusts in Him finds gratification." Then they went before our chief, the famous Al Shams b. Abdul Karīm, on Sabbath, the 13th of Tishri,<sup>2</sup> and acquainted him with all that had happened to them. They advised the Karaite community to put questions to the four Kādhis before the Rabbanites had time to speak. They set to work together and wrote four letters of enquiry as follows:—

#### WHAT THE HONOURED AND LEARNED MEN PUT DOWN:

O ye Imāms of religion and ye learned in the laws of the two sects of Karaite and Rabbanite Jews! Suppose a Rabbanite wishes to live in Karaite fashion, or a Karaite desires to become a Rabbanite; how is such a person to be dealt with, and may any objection be raised against such practice or not? Give us your decision, ye to whom heavenly reward shall be granted.<sup>3</sup>

#### I. REPLY OF THE MĀLIKI [KĀDHI]:

Neither of the two sects can raise any objection against the other, but every individual [must be treated] according to his belief. Whoever encroaches upon the other'[s status], should be checked. And when a party becomes converted to the belief of the other, no opposition can be raised against him,

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xi. 7.

<sup>2</sup> According to the calendar of the Karaites, who celebrated New Year on the Monday following the Rabbanite New Year.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning this formula, see Goldziher in *Z.D.M.G.*, liii. p. 667. Cf. *Journ. As.*, 1871, p. 167.



because the whole of Judaism is but one religion. God knows what is right.

MOHAMMED B. ABI BAKR B. AL SHĒKH AL HUSAINI.<sup>1</sup>

## II. REPLY OF THE SHĀFIĪ KĀDHI.

There can be no objection raised either way, because the Jews form one community as regards the principles of faith.

ZAKARIYYĀ B. [MOHAMMED] AL SHĀFIĪ.<sup>2</sup>

## III. REPLY OF THE SHĀFIĪ [HIGH KĀDHI].

If one of the two sects does not differ from the other in matter of belief, then there can be no objection in case one of them desires to be converted to the other. But if they do differ as regards the maxims of faith to such an extent that each party considers the other as heretic, then any one who desires to change his belief can only become a Moslim.

YAHYĀ B. MOHAMMED AL MUNĀWĪ AL SHĀFIĪ, HIGH KĀDHI.<sup>3</sup>

## IV. REPLY OF THE HANAFĪ [KĀDHI].

If such a thing is considered lawful by Jewish belief, then neither sect can be prevented [from following the course desired], since Judaism is but *one* religion.

YAHYĀ B. MOHAMMED AL AKSARĀI AL HANAFĪ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> His name is not mentioned either by Al Suyūti or Ibn Iyās. From the words added in the MS. to his name: "He was prominent among worthy men," we may conclude that he was not the Kādhi himself, but one of his officials. Ibn Iyās, *Tarikh Misr*, ii. p. 83, mentions the Māliki Kādhi Hisām al dīn Ḥariz.

<sup>2</sup> Al Suyūti, *ibid.*, ii. p. 138. His full name was Zakariyya Moḥammed Al Ansāri Al Suneiki, appointed A. 786 (H.) (1384); see also Ibn Iyās, ii. p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i. p. 253; Ibn Iyās, ii. 174. As to the functions and prerogatives of the High Kādhi, see Wüstenfeld, Calcaschandi's *Geographie und Verwaltung von Aegypten*, *Abhandll. d. Königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften Göttingen*, vol. xxv., p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> Al Suyūti, *ibid.*, i. p. 273; Ibn Iyās, i. p. 303; ii. pp. 74, 84.

## V. REPLY OF THE HANBALI [KĀDHI].

If a person lives according to the tenets of his religion, there exists neither restriction nor objection in the eye of the law.

AHMAD B. IBRĀHĪM.<sup>1</sup>

These are the Fatwas [which we have] reproduced literally without adding to, or subtracting from, them. When they arrived, and the community had perused them and seen the disturbing character of the [second] Shāfiite Fatwa, they chose the Māliki Kādhi as arbitrator. On the Monday they petitioned him to summon the Rabbanite chiefs, and to exhort them not to demand us to join any other but the noble [Karaites] religion.<sup>2</sup> He acceded to their request. We only presented this petition for protection in case they should complain of us, and that we might prevent them complaining and not be troubled by the Māliki Kādhi.<sup>3</sup>

On the Sunday Al Shams Abdul Karīm sent for the elders of the Rabbanites, whose names were Ṣadaqa b. Abda and Abdul Dāim b. Al Tājir. He met each of them separately and said: "We want you not to raise any objection to what these people desire to do, neither to lodge a complaint against them, otherwise the matter will go out of your and our hands, and Gentiles will interfere with us. You will, then, commit a sin of which nothing good will come. We cannot expel them after they have taken us into their confidence, and we know

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., i. p. 276. Ibn Iyās, ii. p. 130, gives his full genealogy. He held his office from 857 (1453) to 876 (1471). See also Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 23,360, fol. 16vo.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. fol. 76vo. אנהם לא יטאלבונא אלזמן אלשרע אלשריף.

<sup>3</sup> Orig., *ibid.*—

ומא אכדנא הדא אלקצה אלא אחתיאט לילא ישאכונא פנכון נחן אלסאבקיין  
לשכותהם מן אנל כלזענא מן ענד אלמאלכי.

This passage is somewhat obscure. It appears that instead of אלמאלכי we should read אלשאפע, and refer the passage to the hidden threat in the reply of the Shāfi High Kādhi.

that they have abandoned their former belief, that they follow the way of the Tōrāh, and seek, as we do, the way of the Lord. We must not forsake them." "Thou knowest," they replied, "that this affair causes us great distress. There are people among us who have no sense, and, if they hear this, circumstances will arise over which we have no control, and the result will be unpleasantness between us." [Abdul Karim then suggested arranging a meeting of ten elders of each party in order to settle the question. The meeting took place in the house of the Nāgid<sup>1</sup>].

After this the Nāgid came to us and said: "Have nothing to do with these people, for they are neither Karaites nor Rabbanites. If they wish, they may create a special religion for themselves. I had an interview with one of them called R. Moses, and he mentioned to me that he intended buying an estate and settling on it with his people. I told him that in this country no one was permitted to buy anything except from the Sultan, who would not let him have one. I urged him to go to Palestine or Galilee and carry out his intention there." To us it appeared that he only travelled there for this purpose, but that he [the Nāgid] said this in order that we should leave them alone.

Now the Rabbanites were greatly perplexed, and every one gave his opinion. On Friday night the Nāgid came to us accompanied by a number of Rabbanites, among whom was *Samuel Khashshā*. We had a long conversation, lasting half the night. David and Joseph of the Europeans were also there. They discussed the subject of the [sheep's] tail and similar matters at great length. They all rejected the views of the Rabbanites, and declared them to be unbelievers in many respects. Then arose *Samuel Al Khashshā*<sup>2</sup> and said:

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 76vo-77vo. Abridged in the translation.

<sup>2</sup> The author adds *ישוב עמלו בראשו*.

"To-morrow I will lodge a complaint against these people; let them become Mohammedans. They are originally Christians, and it is better that they should belong neither to us nor to you than form an independent sect." The Karaites and Rabbanites dispersed in bad temper.

In the same night the mother of R. Moses, who was living with him and his brother, became dangerously ill. They brought her into the street of the Gate *Sirr*,<sup>1</sup> and a member of the community received her in his house. The Karaites and Rabbanites spent the whole Friday in anger and perturbation. The latter went about trying to do mischief behind the backs of the Karaites without our noticing it. Then Ibn Al Khashshā went to a person named Ala al Dīn Al Khābūni, who occupied a high position in the Karaite community. He said concerning them among other things: "These people have a new religion, and have not been under Islam[ic sway] something like 500 years."<sup>2</sup> Through their wealth and action they are men of influence. If you will bring this matter to the knowledge of the Sultan, he will not only give you power over their lives and property, but hold you in high favour. You know what the Korān<sup>3</sup> says concerning the Rabbanites, but it does not speak about Karaites."

This man<sup>4</sup> took great trouble in the affair. He went with Samuel Al Khashshā to the Sultan's son,<sup>5</sup> who was the wickedest and greediest man imaginable, and told him all

<sup>1</sup> See Makrizi, *l.c.* ii. p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. fol. 77vo, וגלים להם פי אנאסלאם סוי דון כמס מאיה סנה.

<sup>3</sup> *Sura*, iii. 72 sq. The passage contains the charge that Jews had altered the Tōrah, and that the Rabbis claimed obedience to their regulations. It is on this occasion that the term *Rabbanites* (*rabbāniyyūn*) is used for the first time, but it need not be pointed out that it does not stand in contrast to Karaites. If any such existed at that time, they were unknown in North Arabia, and could not have been alluded to in the Korān.

<sup>4</sup> Alā al dīn Al khābūni.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Iyās, ii. p. 83, says that Khoshkadem left two young sons, and that the name of the eldest was Sīdī Maṣṣūr. The name of the other is not disclosed.



this with exaggerations. The prince sent in the following night twenty men to the Karaite quarter and ordered them to make a raid on the synagogue on the Sabbath, and to throw the community into confusion.

In the night of this Sabbath the mother of R. Moses died. Two Rabbanites went in the middle of the night to the prefect of the non-Moslim population and said to him: "My Lord, there came to the Karaites a foreign woman of great wealth. She brought with her a large amount of money, precious stones, gold, silver, and jewels. The people seized her, administered a narcotic to her, murdered her, and took all her property. Make a raid upon them, and inform the Sultan, that he may seize her property and hold us in favour."<sup>1</sup>

In the forenoon of the Sabbath he despatched twenty men, who seized the house where the corpse lay, and [another] twenty attacked the synagogue, arrested the elders of the community, and brought them to the house of the Sultan's son. They had just been reading the morning prayer.<sup>2</sup> The congregation was seized with great panic on account of this. The detained men remained in the house of the Sultan's son, and he sent all that the deceased woman had left into her house. The Vice-Kādhi,<sup>3</sup> supported by several witnesses, made a list of all that was in the house—linen, furniture, and books—without omitting anything. They valued it and found that it amounted to 200 Ashrafis.<sup>4</sup>

All the Europeans gathered in the house of the deceased. They were all apprehended on the Sabbath and brought into the house of the governor, where they were put in chains. They presented the list to the governor, but he found nothing

<sup>1</sup> Orig. fol. 78ro, ויבקי אלמכדום בחט ענר אלסלטאן.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. פי פצל יוצר.

<sup>3</sup> Orig. נאיב אלקאצי.

<sup>4</sup> Ducats.



of which the Rabbanites had spoken. Then he said: "What is to be done? I have told the Sultan distinctly that these people are possessed of considerable wealth." "The Rabbanites, my Lord," answered they, "have taken the money and hidden it. Let four of their people be arrested." [When these were brought before him] he frightened them with the words: "I will bring you up to the Sultan, and he will flog you." Being in great fear, they came back to him with a letter and many messages, and offered him 400 dinār to take to the Sultan in order to appease him. He signed a receipt for the money, and ordered them to bury the corpse. They took her out on the Sabbath night after midnight, and she had a funeral such as had never been seen. They buried her in the Karaite cemetery.

Now, the people who had gone to the house of the Sultan's son were received by his men, and remained there until he came down in the afternoon from the citadel. When he arrived he heard what Samuel, the accursed, had said. He had with him an intimate friend called Abul Fadhl, secretary to the Mamlūks. When he perceived in what condition Abdul Karim was on the Sabbath day, he said to the Sultan's son: "My Lord, this Abdul Karim has to look after the people, he is also the Sultan's banker and cannot possibly do anything wrong either in regard to the house or any one of his people. Let him go to finish his Sabbath. I will guarantee for him, if it please you that I may do so."

Among the attendants of the Sultan's son was a certain Sha'bān Badruddār, a person than whom a wickeder could not be seen, or a more sinister one. He tried to interfere in the matter.<sup>1</sup> We, however, did not want him, because he took money and could never be satisfied. The Sultan's son said

<sup>1</sup> Orig. fol. 78vo, ויסע אלגרח ויפתח אלחבואב; literally: he widened the wound and opened the gates.

to Abdul Karīm : " Go home with thy people, but come here on Monday ; we will then hold a meeting with the Kādhis and settle your affair, viz., whether, or not, you follow a new creed. We will also consider what they and you have to say." They adjourned to the synagogue, whither they summoned the people, and said to them : " Trouble not about this matter, though the Rabbanites endeavour to kill us. Let us take counsel what to do." They advised them to pray to God, " for He forsaketh not His people for the sake of His great name." Every one who was in the service of an Emir went to him and informed him of what had happened.

They also resolved not to stir in the matter till after the feast, and further, that Abdul Fadhl should wait upon the Sultan's son. The Rabbanites, meanwhile, went about slandering the Karaites, whilst some people were in their favour, others against them. The Karaites went to the high officials, as the Keeper of the Seal, the Commander-in-Chief, and another person, called Sharaf al dīn al Nāsiri. They informed them that they would appeal to the Mālīki High Kādhi. The Rabbanites sent a denunciation to the Shāfi [High Kādhi], declaring the Europeans to be unbelievers, and demanding their conversion to Islām ; but God was merciful, and the matter dragged on until the eve of Simḥath Tōrāh. On that day a large Rabbanite gathering and about 200 Karaites met in the house of the Sultan's son, bringing the Shāfi Kādhi with them. The prince presided, letting the Rabbanites take their stand on one side and the Karaites on the other. The Rabbanites shouted for the Shāfi Kādhi, whilst the Karaites did the same for the Mālīki. Sha'bān Badruddār endeavoured to make a compromise, and said to the Karaites : " Why are you so obstinate ? His Highness the prince has declared himself satisfied with 5000 dinār." He said the same to the Rabbanites, who declared that they did not care about this.

He then agreed with the Karaites to take 500 Ashrafis, and by his advice they all turned to the Māliki Kādhi.

Before the prince left many of his attendants, such as the Chief of the Emirs, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Keeper of the Seal, had gone out and said to the Karaites: "Fear not, we have agreed with His Highness about 500 Ashrafis from both sides, as also to refer you all to the Māliki High Kādhi." This afforded them some relief. When the Sultan's son came out they stood before him, and Sha'bān said to him: "Hold thy hand out."<sup>1</sup> After he had done so he said: "Go to the Shāfi Kādhi," but all the Rabbanites, God bless you,<sup>2</sup> were obdurate. The Nāgid and [Samuel] b. Al Khashshā remained and brought with them the Hakīm Samuel before the Shāfi Kādhi, who cross-examined him severely until Abul Fadhl relieved him. The Karaites were greatly discomfited, but the Rabbanites shouted with joy, and held themselves ready to kill the Karaites on the spot. God, however, had compassion on them.

The Shēkh Mūsa Al Iskandari and Abdul Karīm b. Feirūz went to the Sultan's son and said to him: "Cast us not into the power of these dogs. Consider, if they behave thus in thy presence, what will they do for us when we have departed from thee." Sha'bān replied: "If it is your intention to go to the Māliki Kādhi, pay the Sultan's son 1000 dinār and go." They said: "Yes, we will pay 1000 Ashrafis." Immediately the prince ordered all his attendants to make a raid on the Rabbanites, who were beaten and dragged away, whilst their chief was bound with the sleeves of his coat. Ibn al Khashshā was also bound, and they were led<sup>3</sup> like captives from the Lion Bridge<sup>3</sup> to the house of the Māliki [Kādhi] at the top of the street Zuweila.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. fol. 79vo. אַמסך אײך ואנא אטבך לך. As to אײך for יך, see Dozy.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. ibid. אלה ינצרך; literally, "May God help thee."

<sup>3</sup> See Makrizi, ii. p. 146; Lane-Poole, ibid. pp. 42, 217.

Whilst they were kept in this distressed and humiliated condition, the Karaites passed their time in joy, jubilation, and thanksgivings to Him who has shown us great mercy. Wherever they caught a Rabbanite they dragged him to the house of the Māliki [Kādhi]. Afterwards many Rabbanites and leading Karaites held a meeting. The Karaites charged the Rabbanites with having infringed the law of the Tōrāh. One of the points urged was that, whereas we hold that the fast [of the Day of Atonement] should be held on the tenth of Tishri, they had fasted on the eighth.<sup>1</sup> The Kādhi questioned the Rabbi on this point, but the latter would give no answer. The Karaites further urged that the Rabbanites declared the eating of a pig lawful when they found it inside a sheep.<sup>2</sup> The Rabbi answered as he was obliged, but only in consideration of the Shāfi Kādhi.<sup>3</sup> The Rabbanites were therefore in great trouble, and the Moslims shouted at them, and called them unbelievers. Thus they were made to suffer much unpleasantness.

After this a certain Rabbanite, called Abdul Dāim the Elder,<sup>4</sup> who was an official of the High Kādhi, came forward. When he heard that they (the Rabbanites) had been driven to the Māliki [Kādhi], he went to the [Shāfi] High Kādhi and said: "I conjure thee, accept no appeal against us,<sup>5</sup> and, when the two parties appear before thee, endeavour to make peace between them, but hear not their appeal." He promised to do so, and whenever the Karaites appealed to him he endeavoured to make peace without being harsh. This was in favour of the Rabbanite cause. Many judges and law

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Misinterpretation of the passage Mishnāh Ḥullin, iv. p. 5 (*Talmud*, fol. 75vo sq.). Karaite practice forbids the eating of the embryo altogether. Cf. Aaron b. Elijah, *Gan Eden*, fol. 84vo, and Judah Hadassi, *Eshkol*, par. 233.

<sup>3</sup> See the Shāfi High Kādhi's reply.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. fol. 80vo, לא תקבל עלינא דעוה.



students who were present at the sitting tried to contradict them, and called them infidels. The Moslims repeated these charges all over the country. They stopped every Jew and asked him whether he was a Rabbanite or a Karaite. If he said "Karaite" they left him alone, but if he confessed himself a "Rabbanite," they cursed him and said: "Thou belongst to the people who declare abominable things lawful, who contradict the law of the Tōrāh, and permit the eating of pork." No Rabbanite was left without fear or injury.

To return to what happened during the meeting, the Karaites asserted in the presence of the Nāgid and his community that they practised Karaism on the basis of the Tōrāh alone. They would not interfere with any one who wished to live as a Rabbanite, neither would they hinder any one who desired to adopt Karaite law. This was agreed to, and a fine of 1000 Ashrafis was imposed on any individual who should contravene this rule. The Karaites also urged against the Nāgid and Samuel b. Al Khashshā: "That all they had said against the Karaites was irrelevant, being dictated by a spirit of opposition and jealousy; that *their* religion was no innovation, whilst that of the Rabbanites was absurd heresy, and that *they* would never return to Rabbanite practice." They then passed a resolution that the Karaite faith was the oldest form [of Jewish belief]. The court had given a clear and unmistakable decision from which the Karaites emerged victorious, whilst the Rabbanites had to beat a retreat, humiliated and weakened, and dared not raise their heads. Thereupon they sent for the Europeans, and ordered them forthwith to become Karaites without any one being able to prevent them.

After this<sup>1</sup> Sha'bān, in the name of the Sultan's son, arrested both the Nāgid and Samuel, and ill-treated them.

<sup>1</sup> The following is abridged, as the original contains much irrelevant matter.



On the third day the prince gave them, as he had done to the Karaites, a written order to pay a thousand Ashrafis. The Rabbanites consulted the Emir Muhammed al Kāmili, who went to the Sultan to plead on their behalf. He told them how poor the Jews were, and that the Sultan's son had mulcted them of a thousand Ashrafis for quarrelling among themselves. The Karaites, on their side, sent their physician Ṣadaḳa to the Emir Kānem,<sup>1</sup> who was very influential at court. There he met the same Muhammed al Kāmili, and both Emirs presented to the Sultan a full account of the proceedings, from which it appeared that the Sultan's son had extorted a thousand Ashrafis from each side. The Sultan replied: "No one has any business to cause the Jews trouble, nor must he force them to pay even half the money." He said this although he was grasping, and whenever he heard of money, in whatever form, he used to take it rightly or wrongly. The Sultan immediately sent an Emir to his son with a written order not to take one half of the money from the Jews, but to let them go without molesting them in any way. When both parties heard this their joy was great. They paid the costs of the proceedings, and the money was restored to them. Two days afterwards the prince went to the palace, and the Sultan said to him: "Trouble not the Jews, and force them not to pay even half the money." During this interview the Sultan learned that Sha'bān had been the cause of all the trouble and brought this curse on his son. The Sultan sent for him in order to have him flogged. When Sha'bān heard of it he fled with all the members of his house.

Thereupon Samuel went to the Karaite Dayyān Alā al dīn b. al Khabūnī, and bade him send for the Elders of the Karaites. He entreated them to leave him and all the Rabbanites in

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Iyās, ii. p. 83, mentions an Atābak Kānem, who may have been the same person.

peace. Alā al dīn sent for the Shēkh Aaron al Saghīr and said to him : "I urgently desire that thou do not trouble Samuel, and that thou also request thy people to do likewise. Leave him entirely alone as long as he conducts himself in this fashion." Aaron agreed, and spoke to his people accordingly. Some of them intended to lodge a claim against him (Samuel) with the Māliki Kādhi, in order to punish him for what he had done, but Abdul Karīm and Abdul Raḥīm b. Iskandari went to the house of the Māliki High Kādhi, summoned the Rabbi and the Rabbanite Elders, every one by his name, and at this meeting a resolution was passed as follows :—

"No one shall strive to oppress or to injure a Karaite in any way. If a Rabbanite desires to be converted to Karaism he shall not be prevented from, or indicted for, so doing. Whoever infringes this decision must pay a fine of 1000 dinar to the Moslim treasury."

## A FORMULA AND A RESPONSUM

BY ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, M.A.

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### TWO GENIZA DOCUMENTS

Besides documents drawn up for specific occasions, the Cairo-Cambridge Geniza contains some "forms" or blanks which a local scribe would use as his model. Such a "type" is the *Kethuba*, reproduced here as Appendix I. It is dated 1220. These blanks often bear the year in which they were written, and the date is confirmed by the citation of the Nagid Abraham, who can be no other than the only son and successor of Maimonides. Bilbeys, where the document was written, was well within the jurisdiction of Fostat, where Maimonides and his son after him lived.

The "form" has many points of interest, but these will not be fully discussed here. The present writer has in preparation a volume of *Kethuboth* which are contained in the Cambridge and Oxford libraries, and in that volume the whole history of the *Kethuba* will be reviewed. The curious reader will, however, notice the inclusion here of the three conditions: (a) the husband covenants to observe the monogamous principle; (b) the husband undertakes not to force on the wife a hand-maiden whom she dislikes; and (c) the wife promises to observe the full ritual obligations of *tebila* (ablution). This is the first time that we find these conditions put together in a *Kethuba* "form." On the last point Maimonides, as is well known, was strongly insistent. But

two things must not be confused. In the famous *takkana*, signed by Maimonides, the wife is threatened with the loss of all her rights under the *Kethuba* should she neglect the ritual referred to. Incidentally it may be noted that a Geniza MS. (TS., K. 13) dates the *takkana* in Sivan אֲחֵפֶז = 1175 or 1176. But this *takkana* (*Responsa Maim.*, ed. Leipzig, i. 149) does not enjoin that the obligation shall be included in the *Kethuba*, though it became customary to do so (*Responsa Maim.*, *ibid.* i. 115). The "form" here printed does not contain the words ואם תסרב תצא בלא כתובה. In the "form" given by Maimonides himself in his Code (*Yad, Hilchoth Yibbum*, ch. iv. end) no such condition occurs. But we must discriminate between Maimonides as a codifier and Maimonides as a personal authority. It is clear that he acquiesced in the inclusion within the local *Kethuba* of phraseology absent from the general "form" in his Code. In MS. Cambridge, TS. 8, 92, is a *Kethuba* naming Maimonides as Nagid; Prof. Kaufmann refers to another instance (*Monatsschrift*, 1897, p. 215).

Now it is this very point that gives special interest to the second document printed below. This does not indeed refer specially to *Kethuboth*, but to documents in general. Here attention will be restricted, however, to *Kethuboth*. The Cambridge library possesses several tenth century and many eleventh century *Kethuboth*. In none of these is there any mention of the jurisdiction of the Nagid; in only one (date 1062) is the Nagid even named at all. But with the beginning of the twelfth century the case is quite other. Between 1104 and 1138 there are at least eight *Kethuboth* in which the Nagid is either invoked in the opening lines or in the body of the document. A similar conclusion may be drawn also from the Oxford *Kethuboth*. The custom was not uniform; many twelfth century documents make no allusion to the Nagid. But it may be safely asserted that from the

year 1100 onwards the custom tended to establish itself as normal in documents in general, and in *Kethuboth* in particular, and may well have seemed some fifty years later as an old rule to those who approved of it. The wording varies, but the "form" in Appendix I. gives the usual phraseology so far as marriage contracts are concerned.

This inclusion of the Nagid's name did not pass without protest. The Responsum printed in Appendix II. shows that strong feeling was roused in the matter. Some objected to this appeal to the Nagid's authority in business documents, at large banquets, at the opening of the synagogue service, and before a *derasha* or sermon. The writer of the Responsum confirms the legality of the custom, cites analogies, and relies in particular on T. B. *Kethuboth*, 22a. Towards the close he uses some strong language against the dissenters, and the whole tone proves that the question was a burning one. The writer must have been of some importance, for the Responsum was carefully preserved, and we have before us a fully attested copy. He was born outside Egypt, is described as the *dayyan* in that country, and his father's name was Eliakim. What his own name was is uncertain. It may be that a name is missing before the name Eliakim, but it is not impossible that the abbreviation 'יהי' contains the writer's name. If this be so, we have a striking parallel to a curious feature in an Oxford *Kethuba*, dated 1030 (printed by Dr. Samuel Poznański in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. xlviii. pp. 173-5). In that document the personal name משיח is also written 'יהיש[ם]=יהיש', which would give us משיח reversed. It is, however, also possible that in our MS. יחאל is the right reading, and not 'יהיש'.

There can be no doubt that the Responsum belongs to the first half of the twelfth century. The conditions in Egypt described in the opening lines are exactly applicable



to the period preceding the arrival of Maimonides (which occurred in 1165). By that time the custom of naming the Nagid was becoming sufficiently fixed to rouse opposition, but was not so very old as to be beyond dispute. Moreover, after the time of Maimonides, the writer of such a Responsum must have cited the action of that great authority as a precedent. That Moses, Abraham, and David Maimuni, all permitted the inclusion of their own names in documents as Negidim is demonstrated by extant records. It is hardly credible that Maimonides would not have been mentioned by name by a later writer in Egypt. And, though the MS. is well preserved, there is nothing paleographically opposed to the supposition that this copy belongs to the first half of the twelfth century. In fact, the date I have assigned is confirmed by the name of the first witness, Abraham b. Hillel. He, one of the few medieval Jewish poets of Egypt, completed his rhymed prose narrative (the *Megilla Zuṭṭa*) in Egypt in 1176. On this Abraham b. Hillel, see Neubauer (*J.Q.R.*, viii. 544) and Kauffmann (*J.Q.R.*, ix. 168).

The quotation from the Jerusalem Talmud made in Appendix II. is an interesting item in the list of passages which are not to be found in the present imperfect text. Herr Ratner (the well-known editor of *אהבת ציון* on the *Yerushalmi*) confirms me in this statement. The passage may be found also in Rashi's *ספר הפרים* (§ נ"ו), in the *תניא* (§ כ"ד), in the *שבלי הלקט השלם* (§ ק"מ), and it is quoted in the *בית יוסף*, *טור אורח חיים* (§ ק"ס).

## APPENDIX I.

A GENIZA MARRIAGE FORM ANNO 1220.

*Cambridge Library Collection* (Drawer 34). Size 36 × 10 cm.

בכך וכך בשבת שהוא כך וכך בחדש פלוני שנת אתקלב לשטרות בעיר בלבים  
הסמוכה לארץ גושן רשותיה דאדונינו ננידנו השר הנדול בישראל כנק' מרי' ורבי  
אברהם שצ' ירום הודו ויגדל כבודו איך מר' פל' החתן בר פל' נע' אמר לה  
לפלאנה ברת פלאן הכהן סט' הואי לי לאינתו כדת' משה וישראל ואנא איפלא  
ואיוון ואפרנס ואיקר ואיסובר יתיכי כהלכת גוברין יהודאין דפלחין זונין ומסוברין  
ית נשיהון בקושטא ובהימנו ושמעתיה פל' כלתא דא והות ליה לאינתו ויהב  
לה חתנא דנן עשרין וחמשה זוז' דכספא דאינון מאתן דתקינן רבנן זל מוהרי  
בתולתא וצבי ואוסיף לה חתנא דנן על כתובתה כך וכך דינ' דדהבא קידם לה  
מנהון עשרין דינ' דדהבא יהבנן לה במתנה גמורה משעת כניסתה לחופה  
מתנה דלית בה חזרה מתנת עלמין ואתו תרין שהדי ואשהידו קמון בבי דינא  
דאודיאית פלאנה כלתא דא דימטא האי מוקדם לידה ואישתיירון לה עלוהי כך  
וכך דיגרינ מאוחרין טאבי מעליי ודין גדוניא דהנעלת עלוהי מדילה עמבית  
אבוהא וידכר אלקמאש וקימתא ואיצא מא כאן מן מצאנז ומהמנו כאן מן אניה'  
נחאס וידכר קימתהם כמנהג אותה העיר ויגמל ואלזמלה ונקואל והוא כלל  
כתובתא דא מוהרא ותוספתא וגדוניא כך וכך וקביל עלוהי חתנא דנן אחריות  
כתובתא דא עלוהי ועל ירתוהי בתרוהי למיגבי לה מכל שפר ארנ' ניכסין  
קנין וממון דאית ליה ודיהוי ליה תחות כל שמיא בביתא ובברא בין ממקרקע'  
בין ממטלטלי' ואפילו? מגלימא דאכתפיה דלא כאסמכתא ודלא כטופסי  
דשטרי אלא כחומר וכחזק כל כתובאתא ותקנאתא דתקינן רבנן זל ונהנין בהון  
ישראל מיומא דנן ולעלם וקביל עלוהי חתנא דנן שתהא פל' נאמנת בכל מיני  
מאכל ומשתה דמספקין בגו ביתא ולית ליה עלה שבועה לא קילתא ולא  
חמירתא ואפ' ע' ידי גלגול ועוד קביל עלוהי דלא למיסב עלוהי איתתא אחריתי  
ודלא ישהי גביה אמתא דסניא ואן פעל דלך קביל על נפשיה דישקול לה  
מאוחרא דילה עד גמרא ולמיכתב לה מה דמנטר ביה ואענ' דאיהי בעיא ואיהו  
לא באעי ואקנינא איצא מן אלכלה אלמדכורה שתטבול כל זמן שתצטרך  
לגדתה תם אקנינא מן אלחתן אלמדכור על כל מה דכתיב ומפרש לעילא ויסדר  
אל תלוין ביני שיטי והכל שלום ולחתימה וקיום בית דין

## APPENDIX II.

### A GENIZA RESPONSUM CONCERNING THE NAMING OF THE RABBINICAL AUTHORITY IN DOCUMENTS, ETC.

*Cambridge Library Collection* (Drawer 34). Size 38 × 17.5 cm.

*Recto.*

כאשר התעו אותי אלהים מבית אבי בחרתי לגור מצרימה ראיתי חמם  
ורב בעיר ומצות ומריבות לחרחר ריב ואש ואשבה משומם דומם  
בראותי אלהים שופטים אלהים והמה לא אלהים. ומקצה אנשי המקום  
שאלוני היש אתך די השיב לשואלך דבר מעולם אשר באת ורבות  
ראית הנד אם ידעת דבר ואשיב אותם דבר אנכי הצעיר בבית אבי  
ומשפחתי הצעירה בישראל ואם אינני בקי בחשובות ועניינים הלא  
לאֱלֹהִים פתרונים ספרו נא לי האותיות שאלוני אחזה דעי אף אני ויאמרו  
לי מה תאמר נפשך בעד רשות הנזכרת מרשות אדונינו מרינו ורבינו  
בשטרות שטרי מקחים וממכרות ובסעודה שרבים מסובים בה סעודת  
אירוסין ונישואין וסעודת מילה וכיוצא בה וטרם פרוס על שמע השליח  
המתפלל בעד העם וטרם דרש הנדרש ברבים היש ברשות הזאת  
מזכרת עון הטובה היא אם רעה דבר אתה עמנו ונשמעה ובמנהג זה  
נהגו הקדמונים אשר לפנינו נבלו ראשונים גבול לא ימש אין כל חדש  
תחת השמש ואתנה את לבי לתור ולהשיב על ראשון ראשון ועל אחרון  
אחרון על אשר סדרו המורים ויורו המורים לאסר אסר בזה לא ידעתי  
מזה ועל מה זה ולפי עוני דעתי נפשי שמתני מן המורים כוננתי חצי על  
יתר לירות דוברי שפת יתר בעזרת המלמד לאדם דעת וזה כל פרי  
הסיר התנרות מעל השטרות וסייעתון מהא דאמ' ר' זירא הא מילתא אמ'  
לן ר' אבא ואי לאו ר' אבא דמן עכו שכחתה שלשה שישבו לקיים את השטר  
ומת אחד מהם צריכין שיכתבו במותב תלתה כחדא הוינא וחד ליתוהי  
ואמ' רב נחמן ואי כתב בי דינא לא צריך ומקשי תלמודא ודילמא בית דין  
חצוף הוא וכדשמואל דאמ' שמואל שנים שדנו דיניהם דין אלא שנקראו בית  
בית דין חצוף ומשני לא צריכא דכתיב ביה בי דינא דרבנא אשי תו הדר  
תלמודא ומקשי ודילמא רבנן דבי רב אשי כדשמואל סבירא להו ומשני לא  
צריכא דכתיב ביה הכי ואמ' לן רבנא אשי ואמינא ליה לרבנא אשי ומיהא  
שמעינן בפירוש דאדכורי שמא דנברא בשטרא והוא גדול שבעיר לאו עבירה

היא דמה לי למיכתב בי דינא דרבנא פלוני או רשותיה דרבנא פ' או מושב  
 דרבנא פ' ואי משום מרינו ורבינו דכתבי בשטרא קפדי אינשי דקפדי הא  
 רב אשי גופיה דבכולי תלמודא אמרינן רב אשי אמ' הכי והכי אמ' רב אשי  
 הכי והכי וספרייא נהיני דכתבו רבנא אשי והמתעתדים בזה בדברי מראה  
 שגו ברואה וכי תימא נהי דבשטרות ליכא קפידא באדכורי רשותא ברכת  
 סעודה דאיכא אדכורי שמא דשמיא ואקדומי רשותא דנדול יבעיר מקמי  
 הכי עבירה היא עוד מעט מזער ואשיבה חורפי דבר דבהא נמי ליכא  
 קפידא מיהא דאמרינן אין המברך רשאי לבצוע עד שיכלה אמן מפי העונין  
 ואין אדם רשאי לפשוט ידו בקערה תחלה עד שיפשוט הבוצע ידו תחלה  
 ואם רוצה לחלוק כבוד לרבו או למי שגדול ממנו בחכמה רשאי ותו הא  
 דאמר' בירוש' מרשין על הפת ואין סוברין על הפת וסוברין על היין פירו'  
 שאומרינן סברו מוראי ואין מרשין על היין ופירושא דהני מילי הכי איתיה  
 מרשין על הפת כלום כשיבחרו בני המסיבה שישבו בסעודה לאחד מהן  
 שיברך להם ברכת המוציא כאותה ששנינו הסבו אחד מברך לכולן גם הוא  
 המברך צריך ליטול רשות מהם ולומר להם מרשות רבותי והם יאמרו מרש'  
 שמים ואם בני העיר נוה להם לחלוק כבוד לנדול שבעירם ולחלות רשותם בו  
 ולומר מרשות אדונינו מה איסור יש ובה) ואעפ' [lacuna]

*Verso.*

מכל מקום לפי דרכינו למדנו שהקוצרין נוטלין רשות משלוהי בית דין  
 והא חכא דאנן סהדי דקצירה אחת מאבות מלאכות והיא ואפילו הכי  
 שרייה רחמ' בשבת נבי קצירת העומר כדתניא בהרי"ש ובקציר תשבות  
 מה חרי"ט רשות אף קציר רשות יצא קציר העומר שהוא מצוה  
 ודוחה את השבת והי"א רשותא עדיפא רשותא דרחמ' או רשותא  
 דבי דינא למיטל רשותא מייניהו אעפ"כ משום חבובי מצוה ויקרא  
 דאוריתא ופלוני יקרא לבי דינא תקינו רבנן למיטל רשותא מבי דינא  
 ואין להקפיד בדבר. ואם לחשך אדם לומר שאני בתי דינין קמאי דהות תורה  
 ונדולה במקום אחד ולהנהיג בתי דיני יאי לפלוני יקרא אבל בתי דיני דהאידינא  
 לא איפשר לפלוני להו יקרה הא נמי תנינא למה לא נתפרשו שמותן של  
 זקנים אלא ללמדך שכל שלשה ושלשה שעמדו בית דין על ישר' הם  
 כבית דינו של משה וכו' ואמר' בגמ' ת"ר למה לא נתפרשו שמותן  
 של זקנים שלא יאמר אדם פל' כמשה ואהרן פי' בתמיהא והי"א  
 אכפף לו ואהיה תחת רשותו ואשמע דבריו פל' כאלדרד ומידר פל' כנרב  
 ואביהוא ואומר' ויאמר שמואל אל העם יי אשר עשה את משה ואת אהרן  
 וז' ואומר' וישלח יי את ירובעל ואת בן ואת יפתח ואת שמואל ירובעל  
 זה נדעון ולמה נקרא שמו ירובעל שעשה מריבה עם הבעל בן זה  
 שמשון ולמה נקרא שמו בן דאיתי מרן ואת יפתח כמשמעו ואומר  
 משה ואהרן בכהניו ושמואל בקוראי שמו פי' הוציא שלשתם בפסוק  
 אחד. שקל הכת שלשה קלי עולם כשלשה חומרי עולם לומר לך

ירובעל בדורו כמשה בדורו בדן כאהרן בדורו יפתח בדורו  
 כשמואל בדורו ללמדך שאפילו קל שבקלים ונתמנה פרנס על הציבור  
 הרי הוא כאביר שבאבירים ואומ' ובאת אל הכהנים הלויים ואל השופט  
 אשר יהיה בימים ההם וכי תעלה על דעתך שאדם הולך אצל שופט  
 שלא היה בימיו. הא אין לך אלא שופט שהוא בימך ואומ' אל תאמר  
 מה היה שהימים הראשונים היו טובים מאלה כי לא מחכמה  
 שאלת על זה ונראה לי שתשובה זו מעולה ושפלה איננה ואשר  
 הראוני מן השמים הנדתי ועל כל הנעלמים ממני ישאני עשני ועל  
 פי הדברים האלה יפה כח אדונינו לומר מרשות אדונינו והמכשיל  
 בזה שלא בראה יוצרו לא יחוננו והנלוזים במעגלותם והמטים  
 עקלקלותם יוליכם יי את פועלי האון שלום על ישראל  
 זו היא הוראת כנן מרנן ורבנן יחיש' הדיין במצרים החכם [ ? ]  
 בר' אליקים החכם והנבון שנעתקה מיהוראתו אות באות ומילה [ במילה ]  
 ובזה אנו מעדין והנהנו אותה כפי היכולת  
 ומכתיבת ידו הועתקה ואנחנו יודעים אותה ומעיד'  
 אברהם ביר' הלל נע' יאשיה ביר' משה זצל

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# LEAF FROM AN ENGLISH SIDDUR OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

BY THE REV. MOSES ABRAHAMS, B.A.

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It is the object of this paper to give a brief account of what is most probably a leaf from a Hebrew prayer-book used in England before the year 1190.

## (a) DESCRIPTION OF THE MS.

Among the Latin MSS. at Pembroke College, Cambridge, is a volume (Cat. Dr. James, No. 59) containing glosses to Isaiah. It is written on vellum, and dates, according to Dr. James, from the twelfth or thirteenth century. More interesting than the MS. itself is, for our present subject, the *binding*. This binding is the original binding of flat boards, and on the top of one of the covers is the old chain-mark, though the strap and pin are gone. Inside each of the covers there was used for stiffening a leaf of vellum containing Hebrew writing. The leaf in the back cover is quite obliterated, but that in front is well preserved. Mr. Minns, the librarian of Pembroke, kindly had the leaf lifted so that it was possible for one to read both sides of it. The writing is in a French hand of the twelfth century at latest, size 30 × 14 cm. The right corner of the recto and the left corner of the verso are destroyed, and here and there in the body of the leaf a word is gone, or is no longer decipherable. But not very much is lost.

## (b) TEXT OF THE MS.

*Recto.*

## הזאת

יצחק ואף את בריתי אברהם אזכור והארץ אזכור: מחה פשעינו כעב ובענן  
 .. חטאתיך שובה אלי כי גאלתיך: מחה פשעינו למענך כאשר אמרת למעני  
 אנכי. . . לא אזכור עשה עמנו כמו שהבטחתנו בימים (ההם) ובעת ההיא  
 יבוקש עון בית. . . תמצאנה כי אסלח לאשר אשאר: עשה עמנו כמה שכתוב  
 ואף גם זאת בהיותם ב. . . [לא] נעלמים להפר בריתי אתם כי אני יי אלהיהם:  
 אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו תבא לפניך. . . מתחיינתנו שאין אנו עזי פנים וקשה  
 עורף נאמר לפניך יי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו נקיים אנוחנו. . . אבל אנוחנו חטאנו  
 אשמונו וכו' סרנו ממצותיך וממשפטיך הטובים. . . ואתה צדיק על כל הבא עלינו  
 כי אמת עשית ואנוחנו הרשענו. . . אשמונו מכל עם בושנו מכל לשון נלה  
 ממנו משובש דוה ליבינו בחטאינו. הוחבל אויונו ונפרעה פארינו זבול בית  
 מקדשנו חרב בעוונינו טירתינו היתה לשמה יופי אדמתינו לזרים. כחנו  
 לנכרים. ועדיין לא שבנו מתעותינו האיד נעזי פנינו ונקשה ערפינו. . . לפניך יי  
 אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו נקיים אנוחנו ולא חטאנו. ויאמרו וידוי פעם שנייה ובקומם  
 יתחילו סרנו ממצותיך. . . ואנוחנו הרשענו ולאחר יאמרו לעינינו. . . לעינינו  
 עשקו עמלינו ממושך וממורט ממנו. נתנו עולם עלינו וסבלנו על שכמינו.  
 עבדים משלו בנו פורק אין מידם צרות רבות סבבנו. קראנוך יי אלהינו רחוק  
 ממנו בעווננו. . . שבנו מתעותינו. האיד נעזי פנינו ונקשה ערפינו נאמר יי אלהינו  
 ואלהי אבותינו נקיים אנוחנו ולא חטאנו: ויאמרו פעם שלישית ויאמרו וידוי. . .  
 ובקומם יאמרו סרנו ממצותיך. . . עד ואנוחנו הרשענו. . . משיח צדקך אמר  
 לפניך שניאות מי יבין ומנסתרות נקינו. נקינו יי אלהינו מכל פשעינו. וטהרינו  
 מכל טומאותינו. וזרוק עלינו מים טהורים וטהרינו. כדבר שנ' וזרקתי וגו'  
 אתכם: מיכה עבדך אמר לפניך מי א' כמוך נושא עון וגו' כל חטאתם וכל  
 חטאות עמך בית יש וגו' ולא יפקדו.

*Verso.*

למען וועודיך. . . עשה למען יחודיך. . . עשה למען תהילתך. . . עשה למען  
 אברהם. . . אהרן. . . עשה למען דוד ושלמה. . . עשה למען ציון משכן כבודך  
 . . . עשה . . .

עשה למענך  
 ענינו נואלינו ענינו. ענינו דורשינו ענינו. . . ענינו עזרת השבטים ענינו. . .  
 ענינו משגב אמהות ענינו. . . ענינו אלהי אברהם ענינו. . . ענינו ופחד יצחק

ענינו . . . ענינו אבי יתומים ענינו . . . ענינו דיין אלמנות ענינו . . . ענינו תומך  
 חמימים ענינו . . . אבינו בחר המוריה . . . ליצחק על גבי המזבח הוא יענינו . . .  
 כשענית ליעקב . . . כשענית למושה ואהרן במדבר הוא יענינו . . . כשענית  
 לאבותינו על ים סוף הוא יענינו . . . כשעני' לדניאל . . . הוא יענינו . . . כשעני'  
 לחנניה ומישאל בתוך כבשן האש הוא יענינו . . . כשעני' למרדכי ואסתר  
 בשושן הבירה והוא יענינו . . . כשענית לכל הצדיקים והחסידים והישרים ותמימים  
 הוא יענינו . . . רחמנא ענינא . . . רחמ' דענית . . . לכל צריכי ענינא . . . רחמנא  
 ענינא . . . רחמנא חוס . . . רחמנא פרוק . . . רחמנא שזיב . . . רחמנא על כל  
 ישראל ואמרו אמן . . . מחי ומסי ממית ומחיה ומסיקן משאול לח . . . עולם . . .  
 ברא כד חטי אבוה לקייה . . . אבוה דחיים . . . אסי לכאיביה . . . עברא  
 דמריר ונפיל בקולורו ולמריה תאיב ותבר קולריה . . .  
 נפשינ כגידין ומרדין . . . עברך אנן ומרודנן קמך יי הא בבזתא והא בשיבייא . . .  
 הא כמ . . . רחמך . . . נפישין . . . אסי לכאיבא דתקופ עלן עד דלא ניהוי גמירא  
 בשיבייא . . .  
 ויתחיל קודם מכניסי רחמים תפלה תקח שיסד ר' מאיר החזן: תפלה תקח תחנה  
 תבחר . . . תאור ניהוח . . . כאילו זכו תרום מזבח . . . רצה עבודתם כמקדש  
 . . . בבית עולמים לעשות חביתם . . . קראות בחיתון סדרים . . . כעין איברים . . .

(c) NOTES ON THE TEXT.

It will be seen that the MS. contains portions of the Selihoth such as are now used in the German rite on the week-days of the Penitential season. There are, however, several interesting variations, many of which do not need indication, as they will be obvious to the reader. Attention will be here limited to a few. There is, *e.g.* the insertion of the "metrical tamid," תפלה תקח, between the מחי ומסי and מכניסי רחמים. This was a French composition of the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century (see Zunz, *Lit. Gesch. des Syn. Poesie*, p. 250). Some translations of this author's piyutim are to be found in Zunz, *Die Syn. Poesie*, pp. 187 *seq.* He was a personal friend of Rashi. In our MS. he is termed R. Meir the Ḥazzan. His full name was Meir ben Isaac ben Samuel. The inclusion of the French piyut in our MS. fits in with the general character

of the leaf, as will be seen later on. It is evident, too, that our MS. contains one of the oldest extant citations of this piyut.

Another important point is presented by the repeated rubric, "They shall say the confession, *and when they rise*, they shall begin: We have turned aside from thy commandments." In other words, we have here the custom of "falling on the face" (נפילת אפים) while saying the alphabetical Viddui, and this *minhag* is an interesting addition to our knowledge of the conduct of public worship in English synagogues in the twelfth century.

With regard to the alphabetical series of ענינו, &c., on the verso, the MS. did not contain *complete* alphabets. The gaps do not allow for such a supposition. The readings in מתי ומסי are very like those in the *Seder R. Amram*, ii. 21.

Most important of the variations, however, is one which strongly confirms the evidence in favour of the theory that the leaf is part of a North French siddur. I refer to the words: נקיים אנחנו ולא הטאנו. This use of נקיים for צדיקים is characteristically French. The same phraseology occurs in a Cambridge MS. (Add. 667-1), a fine copy of the French rite. On p. 97A we read: ואיך נאמר לפניך יי אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו נקיים אנחנו, *cf. ibid. 9a*. The same reading, it will be noticed, is cited from an English Liturgy written before 1290 (see Kaufmann, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, iv. p. 47). It has long been shown that the last-named MS. was a variant of the French rite. This is confirmed by the leaf now under description.

#### (d) ORIGIN OF THE MS.

It now remains to point out the reason for assuming this leaf to have been part of an actual twelfth century prayer-book used in England. The Latin volume containing it

reached Cambridge from *Bury St. Edmunds*, where there was a considerable Jewish congregation until the expulsion of the Jews by Abbot Samson in the year 1190. The leaf, as was pointed out above, was part of the original binding as completed in the Abbey library. Hence it is no hazardous suggestion that the leaf was obtained from the Bury Synagogue after 1190, and that it had been in actual use there before that date.



## A PAGAN EMPEROR AS BIBLE STUDENT.

BY THE REV. MICHAEL ADLER, B.A.

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The friendship displayed by the Emperor Julian towards his Jewish subjects is one of the most significant facts of Jewish history in the fourth century. In his attempt to restore paganism as the national worship of the Roman Empire, Julian looked to Judaism as an ally against the new creed<sup>1</sup> that had been elevated to the dignity of the State religion some fifty years previously. His famous letter "to the Community of the Jews"<sup>2</sup> is couched in the most cordial terms; he addressed the patriarch, Hillel II., as "his brother" (τὸν ἀδελφόν), and promised to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem after his return from a war which he had begun—and in which he unfortunately perished.

In his struggle with the dominant faith, the Emperor, who combined the character of philosopher with that of an upright ruler, sought to obtain his object not by using the sword, but by wielding the pen. He wrote a number of letters upon the teachings of Christianity, and a polemic that called forth a violent reply from Cyril of Alexandria, a distinguished Church Father. Gibbon<sup>3</sup> has well said that Julian "escaped very narrowly from becoming a bishop, and perhaps a saint." He had been educated by men learned in the Bible, and admitted to the inferior offices of the ecclesiastical order.

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Constantine embraced Christianity in 312 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Written about Dec. 362 A.D. See Grätz, iv. pp. 369, 493 (English edition, ii. p. 605); also article upon "The Emperor Julian and the Jews," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. v. p. 622.

<sup>3</sup> *Decline and Fall*, chapter xxiii.

On several occasions, as a youth, Julian had publicly read the Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia. These early influences account for the remarkable knowledge of the Biblical text displayed by the Emperor in his writings, and we have therefore to deplore the fact that only fragments of Julian's Essay against Christianity have been preserved.<sup>1</sup>

In this work, all copies of which were destroyed by order of the Emperor Theodosius II., Julian submits both the Old and New Testaments to a critical examination from the point of view of a pagan. He argues with considerable vigour against Christianity,<sup>2</sup> and upbraids its adherents with desertion of Judaism, which is acknowledged to be worthy of respect, but reprehensible principally in its doctrine of monotheism. Thus he praises the Decalogue for its moral teaching,<sup>3</sup> but speaks of the second commandment as a "calumniation of the Deity."

"Did but the Jews worship other gods, they would receive the various blessings to be derived from each, as wisdom and civilisation from Hermes and Athene, valour from Ares," &c. But Moses was careful, says Julian, to forbid his people to revile other gods. [This strange statement is supported by the quotation of Exodus xxii. 28, אלהים לא תקלל, where the LXX. is followed in its erroneous translation.]<sup>4</sup> His whole view upon the teaching of the Unity is summed up in the following extract from one of his Epistles,<sup>5</sup> where, referring to the Jews, he speaks as follows: "For those

<sup>1</sup> The full text of Julian's Essay does not exist. Cyril selected certain passages to which he replied, and thus preserved all that we now possess of the Emperor's polemic.

<sup>2</sup> The epithet *The Apostate* was one of the mildest that the Church writers have applied to Julian in their anger at his onslaught upon the teachings of their faith.

<sup>3</sup> "The Law of Moses is wonderful (*θαυμαστός*), especially the Decalogue," which he proceeds to quote in full.

<sup>4</sup> Θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις.

<sup>5</sup> Epistle 63, Upon the Duties of a High-Priest.

who are distinguished in the school of impiety (*i.e.* monotheism) are so zealous that they will suffer want and famine rather than taste swine's flesh, or that of anything strangled or even killed by accident. . . . But these men are in part only religious, as the God whom they worship, as we do also under different names, is really most powerful and most benevolent, and governs the visible world. . . . I blame them only for despising the worship of other gods in favour of their one God whom they, with barbarian pride and stupidity, regard as their own property and hidden from us Gentiles."

Julian further quotes Deut. vi. 4: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is one," and argues that this sentiment is akin to the Neo-Platonic idea of the one Being from whom all the other gods emanated. "But," he adds, "if the Mosaic Deity is a jealous God—as the text says (Deut. iv. 24), 'For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, even a jealous God,'—why does He not destroy the worship of all other divinities? Is He not able to do this?"<sup>1</sup> The reference to the word *jealous* in the above quotation moves Julian to consider how the idea of *jealousy* can be applied to the Deity. He comments upon the use of this term in the incident of Phinehas (Numbers xxv.), and adds, "If you read the book of Numbers you will understand what I am alluding to." For it surprises the polytheistic Roman that God should

<sup>1</sup> See the parallels to this argument in *Aboda Zara*, 54b:—

שאלו פלוסופין את הזקנים ברומי אם אלהיכם אין רצונו בע"א מפני מה  
אינו מבטלה ונו' :

On same page:—

שאל פלוסופוס אחד את ר' גמליאל כתיב בתורתכם כי ה' אלהיך אש  
אוכלה הוא אל קנא מפני מה מתקנא בעובדיה ואין מתקנא בה ונו' :

Cf. further 55a:—

שאל אנריפס שר צבא את ר' גמליאל כתיב בתורתכם כי ה' אלהיך אש  
אוכלה הוא אל קנא ונו' :

The quotation of this verse (Deut. iv. 24) in these passages in the Talmud and by Julian is very curious.

have been wroth because Israel worshipped Baal-peor, who, being the local divinity, could lawfully claim the reverence of the sons of Jacob sojourning near his domain.

The Imperial philosopher further analyses the Mosaic account of the Creation. He endeavours to prove that Plato has given a far better account of the origin of things in his *Timæus* than that found in Genesis. The words of Psalms xxxiii. 9: "For he spake and it was done," he applies to the Creation, and discusses their significance. Moses has omitted to tell of the creation of the abyss, of darkness, of water,<sup>1</sup> of the angels,<sup>2</sup> and of the whole spiritual world.

The story of Eden is subjected to a close scrutiny. The Mosaic Deity was not wise in seeking to conceal the knowledge of good and evil from mankind. The serpent was indeed a benefactor to the world in opening the eyes of our first parents to a consciousness of right and wrong.<sup>3</sup> The story of the Tower of Babel resembles the legend in the *Odyssey*<sup>4</sup> of the attempt to storm the heavens. Lycurgus and Solon are superior to Moses as legislators, argues Julian, for they revealed to us the origin of manners and laws. In the history of the Israelites, who can compare Samson and David with the warriors of Greece and Egypt? In arts, political skill, medical

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Chagiga*, 12a:—

י' דברים נבראו ביום ראשון ואלו הן שמים וארץ תהו ובהו אור וחשך רוח ומים:

Also, *Midrash Rab. Genesis*, i. 12:—

פילוספוס אחד שאל את רבן נמליאל א"ל צייר גדול הוא אלהיכם אלא שמצא סממנים טובים שסייעו אותו תהו ובהו וחשך ורוח ומים ותהומות. א"ל . . . כולחון כתיב בהן בריאה תהו ובהו ונו':

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Midrash Rab. Genesis*, i. 4:—

אימתי נבראו המלאכים ר' יוחנן אמר בב' נבראו המלאכים ונו':

Also *ibid.* ii. 2:—'נו' אחת ונו' העליונים והתחתונים נבראו בבת אחת ונו':

<sup>3</sup> This view of the Serpent gave rise to a Gnostic sect of the third century, called the Nahasim (from נחש), or Ophites, who regarded the Serpent as the personification of Wisdom.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey*, xi. 315.

knowledge, and general culture, the men of the Bible must yield the palm to heathens. Solomon, wise though he may have been, is surpassed by Theognis and Isocrates. The fact that Solomon allowed himself to be misled by women proves that his wisdom was far from profound. The poetry of the Hebrews ranks below that of classical literature, "although," adds the Emperor, "Eusebius<sup>1</sup> pretends that the Jews had hexameter verse and knew logic."

The prophetic works fare no better at the hands of the Imperial writer. As they paid no respect to the worship of Helios (the sun), which is the only true source of prophetic power, the Hebrew seers could not possibly attain the heights of inspiration. In those matters where the teaching of Judaism approximates to that of his cherished paganism, Julian waxes eloquent in demonstrating to the Christians the many excellences of the faith of Israel. "Indeed, though I am averse to celebrating the festivals of the Jews," he observes, "I always adore the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." In his Epistle to the Community of the Jews,<sup>2</sup> he asks their prayers for him "to the Almighty Creator of the Universe, who has deigned to crown me with His own undefiled right hand." The Jews had temples, sacred groves, lustrations, sacrifices, divination, and many other religious usages that "require the presence of the holiest sentiments." The sacred fire of the Greeks finds its counterpart in the fire called down from heaven by Moses and Elijah. "Moses himself was truly religious about the eating of victims. . . . And if some acute Galilean among you might say that you are not deserving of blame on this account, as neither do the Jews *now* sacrifice, I will prove that person to be extremely dull. In the first place, you are reprehensible in that you no longer observe any of the

<sup>1</sup> *Preparatio Evangelica*, ii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 114.



legal rites of the Jews; and secondly, because in truth the Jews *do* sacrifice<sup>1</sup> in certain peculiar ways, and, even at the present day, eat everything as though it were a sacrifice, offer prayers before they sacrifice, and give the right shoulder to the priests as first-fruits.<sup>2</sup> But, however, being now deprived of a temple and altar, or, as they usually call it, 'the sanctuary,'<sup>3</sup> they are prevented from offering the customary sacrifices to God."

He further blames the Christians for having departed from the Mosaic law, as he urges that Moses in no place alluded to any possible abrogation of his precepts, and "you act presumptuously in ceasing to observe the Sabbath, in not killing lambs according to the Jewish method,<sup>4</sup> and not eating the unleavened bread."<sup>5</sup> He commends the dietary laws and the rite of circumcision.

One of the Emperor's arguments against the value of Judaism, as compared with his own Neo-Platonic sentiments, is drawn from the actual condition in which he found the Jewish people of his own day.<sup>6</sup> "The gods have given empire to Rome, but to the Jews liberty only for a very brief space of time, and perpetual slavery and exile. Consider Abraham,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Edéyoth*, 13b:—

אמר ר' יהושע שמעתי שמקריבין ואע"פ שאין בית ואוכלים קדשי קדשים  
אע"פ שאין קלעים וגו':

Also *Chulin*, 2b:—: טהרת הקדש: חולין שנעשו על טהרת הקדש:

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 130a (*Mishna*):—

הזרע נוהג בארץ ובחוצה לארץ בפני הבית ושלא בפני הבית:

Also *ibid.* p. 134b:—: הזרוע זה זרוע הימין:

<sup>3</sup> ἀγίασμα = מקדש or בית המקדש.

<sup>4</sup> This allusion to Shechita in a non-Jewish writer of the fourth century is probably unique.

<sup>5</sup> The Emperor adds that the only reason that might excuse the Christians from eating lambs slain after the Jewish custom was that these lambs are not lawful for people who reside outside Jerusalem.

<sup>6</sup> As evidence of his interest in his Jewish subjects, Julian observes in one of his Epistles (49th) that "there are no beggars among the Jews."

a stranger in a strange land! Jacob, first among Syrians, then in Palestine, and, as an old man, a slave in Egypt! Moses brought forth his people from Egypt with a high hand! Their fortunes in Palestine changed more often than the colour of a chameleon. . . . They have always been enslaved—at one time by the Assyrians, at another by the Medes and Persians, and at the present day by us." He therefore objects very strongly to the Jews regarding themselves as the chosen people, which idea, he says, has been disproved by the facts of history.<sup>1</sup>

In the above quotations from the Emperor's polemic, the Hebraic turn of many of the phrases will be observed. Biblical quotations abound, and are selected from all parts. They are usually introduced by the phrase, "as the Scripture [*ἡ Γραφή*] says." In one of the passages in which he is proving the immutability of the Law,<sup>2</sup> he remarks, "and this I can demonstrate not from ten only, but from ten thousand passages of Moses himself." But it is certain that the Bible that Julian knew so intimately was not the original but the LXX. version. This is evident from every verse in which the LXX. happens to differ from the Massoretic text. The Emperor's Christian instructors, in all probability, had not taught him Hebrew, but had accustomed him to regard the Greek version as an exact translation. The result of this second-hand knowledge is, that Julian bases several of his observations upon an incorrect rendering of the original, as was shown above in the quotation from Exod. xxii. 28.<sup>3</sup> Other examples of this are the following: Julian explains that the reason why the offering of Abel was accepted, was because the younger brother was more skilful in the art of

<sup>1</sup> He quotes Exod. iv. 22, 23; v. 3; vii. 16—where Israel is called the son or the firstborn of the Lord.

<sup>2</sup> Quoting Deut. iv. 2 and xxvii. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 115.

divination, and "divided" his offering properly. This idea is derived from the LXX. version of Gen. iv. 7, which reads: "Is it not that if thou bringest the offering in a correct manner, it will be well: but if thou dividest it not properly, thou wilt sin."<sup>1</sup> Abraham was likewise learned in the science of augury, as proved by the vision in Genesis xv. When the birds of prey came down (as described in ver. 11) the patriarch "sat down with them,"<sup>2</sup> say the LXX. and Julian. In another passage, the Emperor is deriding the custom of the Christians of holding services in the catacombs, and asserts that they choose the vicinity of the graves in the expectation of seeing visions and holding communion with the dead; and indeed, he adds, the prophet Isaiah speaks of such people when he says (lxv. 4), "and they sleep in the sepulchres and caves on account of dreams."<sup>3</sup>

An interesting comment upon the Biblical text is that bearing upon Gen. xlix. 10, where Julian adopts the LXX. translation of the word שִׁלָּה,<sup>4</sup> "until there come that which is his," and explains the verse to mean that, when the kingdom of Judah came to an end with the death of King Zedekiah, the sceptre departed from Judah for ever. Julian further discusses the rendering of the text as found in the writings of many of the Church Fathers,<sup>5</sup> and charges the Christians with having falsified it for their sectarian purposes. The prophecy of Balaam (Num. xxiv. 17)<sup>6</sup> is applied by our commentator to David and his descendants who sat upon the throne of Judah, and is denied all Messianic interpretation.

<sup>1</sup> Οὐκ εἰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκης ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς ἡμαρτες;

<sup>2</sup> συνεκάθισεν αὐτοῖς Ἀβράμ (reading שִׁבְּיָי instead of שִׁבְּיָי).

<sup>3</sup> The Massoretic text reads, "who remain among the graves and lodge in the monuments."

<sup>4</sup> ἕως εἰς ἐλθῇ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ.

<sup>5</sup> παραπεσώκατε δὲ ὁμοίως ὑμεῖς ἕως ἂν ἐλθῇ ὃ ἀπόκειται. This translation is found in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, i. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Julian renders the word שִׁבְּיָי in this verse by ἄνθρωπος, like the LXX.

The more one reads of the few fragments of Julian's Essay that are extant, the greater is the feeling of regret that the whole work has not come down to us. For it is clear that the same genius, the same calm, critical intellect that shines through his other writings would have been revealed to us in his complete Essay, and would have afforded a subject of the deepest interest to all students of Biblical exegesis. No Roman Emperor, either before or after Julian, has shown so remarkable a knowledge of the Scriptures, and set so excellent an example to his subjects in this department of learning. If Julian did not succeed in building a third temple in Jerusalem, he certainly has won for himself a niche in the temple of fame as a monarch, a philosopher, and a student of the Bible.

# RABBI SOLOMON LURIA (1510-1573) ON THE PRAYER-BOOK.

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. B. BERLINER.

## RESPONSUM 64.

Thou hast asked me, my colleague, whether I have any traditions from my elders with reference to prayer. Know that I have not been privileged to learn on this subject from my revered grandfather, the Saint Rabbi Isaac of blessed memory, as much as a dog could lick up from the water of the sea. In the days of my youth I worked at the study of the Talmud and Pilpul, but not at the critical details of ritual. Alas! for things lost, which are never forgotten. My grandfather's books were unfortunately burned in the great fire at Posen. Holy scrolls, as well as his Prayer-book, were consumed. I remember but very little of this subject. But even though it be little, it may refresh my soul to recount my reminiscences.

When he concluded עניני (Singer's Prayer-book, p. 50) as a private prayer, he finished with ב"א"ה שומע תפלה and not ב"א"ה העונה בעת צרה, as is written in the ordinary prayer-books. Some concluded the prayer thus: ב"א"ה העונה בעת צרה ושומע תפלה. I have also seen this in the *Novellæ* of R. Asher. Nevertheless, I do not agree that the closing blessing should be a combination of the two blessings. He, too, fixed its position immediately after אל תשיבנו ריכם מלפניך. And after the recital of עניני he continued with ב"א"ה שומע תפלה עמרך, so that the subject-matter at the close of the prayer should agree with the contents of the concluding blessing. A record is found stating



that the additional prayer for fast days, although not belonging to ancient times, was accepted by him, and it was his traditional usage to recite it.

When he came late to synagogue he was accustomed to say בְּרוּךְ שְׁמֵךְ (p. 16), then אֱשֶׁר (p. 29), and then יִשְׁתַּבַּח (p. 36); sometimes he would pass over all three and commence with the Reader. At the finish of the prayers he did not recite the פְּסוּקֵי הַזְמָרָה at all. Thus, too, it is written in the book לְקוּמֵי פְּרִדָּם, to which please refer.

It was his habit to say the ten commandments (Exod. xx.) every morning. And the ten commandments (Deut. v.) he said every evening, after having recited the שְׁמַע, before retiring to rest.

I also remember that, with regard to the blessing of סְפִירַת הָעוֹמֶר (p. 270), he was accustomed to say, "This is the second day," "This is the third day," and so on, without adding בְּעוֹמֶר. And although R. Simeon ben Addereth wrote in favour of the customary form, saying that it is more explicit, he would not accept his suggestion.

In the blessing of שְׁעֵשָׂה נִסִּים (pp. 274 and 276) I remember that he said, שְׁעֵשָׂה נִסִּים לְאַבוֹתֵינוּ בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם בְּזֶמַן הַזֶּה. He explained it to mean, "God wrought miracles in times past at this season." He did not follow some in saying, בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם וּבְזֶמַן הַזֶּה.

It was his custom, on the second night of Tabernacles, to say the blessing לֵיטֵב בְּסֻכָּה (p. 232) before שְׁתַּחֲוִינוּ, as is done on the first night, following in this the opinion of the ראב"ה and not the רא"ש.

In the prayer הַשְׁכִּיבֵנוּ (p. 99) he omitted the word אוֹיֵב, for it is included in the meaning of the word חָרֵב.

He read פְּטוּם הַקְטוֹרֶת (p. 167) from the book, and never by heart, lest he should omit one word, for in the passage we find the phrase, "should he leave out one of its ingredients

he would be deserving of death." Prayer is in place of the sacrifices and the incense; as we find, "May my prayer be set forth before Thee as incense" (Ps. cxli.).

In the Grace after Meals (p. 283, line 2) he omitted בּוֹרְאֵנוּ, only saying מְלַכְנוּ אֲדִירָנוּ גּוֹאֲלֵנוּ יוֹצֵרָנוּ. I have not heard his reason. It may be that יִצְרָה and בְּרִיאָה have the same meaning. Why, then, should both terms be used? You may know that this was probably his reason, because in the Piyutim, said in the סְלִיחוֹת of the morning, at the break of day, at its close, there occurs a series of prayers commencing with עֲנֵינוּ, each with one of the letters of the א"ב, and for the one commencing with ' he substituted יִצֵּר עֲנֵינוּ for עֲנֵינוּ יוֹדֵעַ יִצֵּר עֲנֵינוּ, the idea being that בּוֹרְאֵנוּ had already been mentioned in the second עֲנֵינוּ. There may be a special signification for each term, viz. יִצְרָה may apply to something solid and gross, like the matter of which man is made, and בְּרִיאָה may be a more suitable term for something refined, and therefore for the soul. The text of Scripture seems to lend support to this, for first we read, "And God *created* man in His image, in the image of God created He him" (Gen. i. 27), which refers to the soul and the intellect; and afterwards we find (Gen. ii. 7), "And the Lord God *formed* man of the dust of the ground"; this speaks of the coarse matter. Although we also find (Gen. i. 21), "And God *created* the great sea-monsters," the term may be here employed on account of their great activity, sharpness, and cunning. At all events we understand that the word יִצְרָה is preferable when applied to the body and בְּרִיאָה when applied to the intellect. There are some commentators who reverse this. Still, there are seventy different ways in which the Torah can be explained. As a mnemonic peg on which to hang this idea, we find (Amos iv. 13), "He *formeth* the mountains and *createth* the spirit." Accordingly, in the Grace after Meals, which is

recited after the replenishment of the body and matter, יִצְרֵנוּ should be used, and in the סְלִיחוֹת, where pardon is sought for the sinful soul, בּוֹרְאֵנוּ should be used.

I have also heard that he objected to the formula (p. 284, line 11), "as God *blessed* our fathers." He regarded this phrase as savouring of blasphemy. He corrected it by reading, "as our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, *were blessed* in every respect." "And say ye Amen" he substituted for "and let us say Amen"; for the former is an exhortation to the reciters of the Grace to pay honour to their host. Reverentially be it said, we adopt the same course with reference to the Deity, and we exclaim (p. 285, line 14), "May He who maketh peace in His high heavens cause peace to dwell amongst us and all Israel, and *say ye Amen!*"

I shall now tell thee what additions to, and omissions from, my prayers I make. When I arise from my bed and wash my hands according to ritual regulation, in accordance with the statement of R. Asher that in the morning the same washing and rinsing of the hands are needful as before a meal, I only say אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵר (p. 4, line 3), and נְטִילַת יָדַיִם I reserve for my coming to the synagogue to pray, for there is its place, and it was arranged for use in the Divine service. Immediately after אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵר I say אֱלֹהֵי נִשְׁמָה (p. 5, line 9), so that these two blessings may not be separated. Although the Tur wrote that this is not necessary, still in a Responsum of R. Asher it is recommended, and the מהר"ם ברונא is surprised at the Tur's opinion in this matter. I maintain that even if such an arrangement is not absolutely necessary, it is certainly preferable. The proof of this is that the prayer to be said when going on a journey (p. 310) is unconnected with any blessing, and does not commence with בְּרוּךְ; nevertheless, the מהר"ם took care when he was on the road to say it immediately after the first נִשְׁמָה טוֹבִים (p. 7), which finishes וְיְהִי רָצוֹן

לְעַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל, so that it might be a blessing following one of similar import.

The blessing of the Law (p. 4, line 8) should be said before the chapter of the Daily Offering (p. 9) (Num. xxviii. 1–8), as may be found in the ancient prayer-books of France and Germany. The Tur, however, introduced the custom of reading the blessing of the Law at an earlier part of the service, being apprehensive that verses from the Law might be recited before reading the chapter of the Daily Offering. For this reason he laid stress upon its recital immediately after אֱלֹהֵי נִשְׁמָה (p. 5, line 9). He then recited the בְּרַכַּת כְּהֻנִּים (p. 4, line 17). This course is not right, because בְּרַכַּת כְּהֻנִּים has some connection with the chapter of the Daily Offering, and should be said either immediately before or immediately after it. (I have given a lengthy reply to this question.) I am, therefore, accustomed to read three verses from the Pentateuch, viz. “Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people: neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour: I am the Lord. Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him. Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: I am the Lord” (Lev. xix. 16, 17, 18); and three verses from the Prophets, viz. “Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest. This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success. Have not I commanded



thee? Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest" (Joshua i. 7, 8, 9).

The third verse of this latter selection is explained by Rashi to refer to the war in which Joshua was engaged. Nevertheless, it is quite evident that it also bears upon the practice of the Law; for by holding fast to the Law, Joshua would not quail or tremble. The same applies to every man. So too Gersonides explains it. And lastly, I read three verses from the Hagiographa, viz.: "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful. But his delight is in the Law of the Lord, and in His Law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth its fruit in its season: his leaf also shall not wither: and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper" (Ps. i. 1). After that I read the chapter אֵלֵינוּ רַבִּים נִשְׁאֵין לָהֶם שִׁיעוֹר (p. 5), so that the blessing of the Law may have reference to the Law, the Prophets, the Holy Writings, and the Mishna. The Reading of the Mishna as it lies before us in the Prayer-Book (p. 5) is inaccurate. The Mishna (Peah, ch. i. § 1) enumerates only "honouring parents, kindly services, and bringing about peace between man and man, and the study of the Law, which equals all of them."<sup>1</sup>

If all the detailed duties enumerated by R. Jochanan (T. B. Shabbat, 127a) are to be recorded here, then some further additions should be made, for his statement is: "In return for the performance of the six following duties the interest of the reward is reserved for this world and the capital for the world to come, viz. hospitality to strangers, visiting the sick, meditation in prayer, attending at early

<sup>1</sup> Maimonides explains this last passage by saying "that study of the Law by eventuating in its practice ranks as high as all the rest."



morn at the house of study, rearing one's children to study the law, and judging charitably one's fellow-man."

In contradiction to this latter statement of R. Jochanan, the Talmud brings forward the Mishna (Peah, i. § 1). The difficulty is reconciled by explaining that the more comprehensive terms of the Mishna are explained in detail by R. Jochanan. This Rashi elucidates in the following way: "'Hospitality to strangers' and 'visiting the sick' come under the heading of 'kindly services' (term used in the Mishna); 'meditation in prayer' also is included in 'kindly services,' for in Proverbs xi. 17 we read, 'The saintly man doeth good to his own soul.' 'Attending at early morn at the house of study' and 'rearing one's children to the study of the Law' are parallel with 'the study of the Law' (term used in the Mishna). 'Judging one's neighbour charitably' is an instance of 'promoting peace' (term used in the Mishna), for by causing the balance of thought to preponderate in his favour by saying, 'He has not offended me by this act,' or 'He was acting under compulsion,' or 'He intended it for the best,' peace ensues. R. Jochanan's statement was simply explanatory. In the three terms of the Mishna the six duties enumerated by R. Jochanan are included. This applies too to 'honouring parents,' which is repeated in both, showing that R. Jochanan values this duty as highly as the Mishna." As a result of the critical examination of the passage in the Prayer-Book (p. 5) we have this to face: "Rearing one's children to the Law" and "judging one's neighbour charitably" are not quoted, and two other duties are inserted which are neither in the Mishna nor in R. Jochanan's dictum, viz. "promotion of marriage" and "accompanying the dead to the grave." It may be that these two pious offices are explanatory of the more comprehensive term, "kindly services" (term used in the Mishna),

giving them their place under his heading. I am therefore inclined to say that the right reading of the Prayer-Book passage (p. 5) is the enumeration of the three duties quoted in the Mishna, and then to add the six religious practices mentioned by R. Jochanan. My correction of this passage (Prayer-Book, p. 5) seems to me to be substantially right.

The reason why at the conclusion (of the early portion of the Ritual) the congregation say וְיִדְבֵּר (p. 9, line 16), and the Mishna of אֵיזוֹהוּ מְקוֹמָן (p. 11, line 8), and the *B'raitha* of R. Ishmael (p. 13, line 12), is because "a man should devote a third of his life to Bible studies, a third to Mishna, and a third to Talmud" (vide Tosaphoth, *T. B. Sanhedrin*, 24a, ד"ה בלולה). This means that some part of each day should be allotted to the study of Scripture, Mishna, and Talmud. The chapter of the Daily Offering (p. 9, line 16) is a text from Scripture. אֵיזוֹהוּ מְקוֹמָן (p. 11, line 8) enumerates all the laws regarding sacrifices. The *B'raitha* of R. Ishmael (p. 13, line 12) describes the mode and method of Pentateuchal interpretation.

When I come to the Morning Blessings, commencing with אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לִשְׁכֹּנֵי בֵּיתָהּ (p. 5, line 16), I omit the blessing מִנְבִּיָּהּ שְׂפָלִים, because it is not to be found either in the Talmud or in Gaonic writings. Maimonides and the Tur also do not mention it. The שְׂבּוּלִי לֶקֶט states that it should not be said. The blessing מִתִּיר אֲסוּרִים I am accustomed to say before זוֹקֵף כְּפוּפִים. This is expressly recommended in the Talmud (*T. B. Berachoth*, 60b) in these words: "When he sits at ease let him say, 'Blessed is He who looseth the bound'; and when he stands upright let him say, 'Blessed is He who raiseth up the bowed down.'" Such is the reading of all the Codists. In my opinion, Rabbi Amram's view, which is that "after one has said זוֹקֵף כְּפוּפִים the blessing מִתִּיר אֲסוּרִים should not be said," amounts to this, that the

right order of the blessings is not followed, because usually standing erect follows sitting at ease. He does not recommend its omission entirely. The Tur has not been exact in his statements. I do not say הַנּוֹתָן לַיַּעַר בֵּית (p. 6, line 17), because it is not to be found either in the *Talmud Babli* or *Talmud Jerushalmi*. No Codist mentions it except the Tur, who gives as the reason why it was inserted in the German Prayer-Books, that it was formulated in accordance with the Midrash on the verse, "The Lord's mercies are new every morning" (Lamentations iii. 23).<sup>1</sup> This is a matter for surprise, for R. Asher (his father) wrote in specific terms in the *Treatise Bechoroth* that "from the close of the Talmud no individual is permitted to alter or to add a fresh blessing." Even the Gaonim had not the right to do so. Therefore I think it ought not to be said. So I have written in my elaborate work on the first chapter of *Kethuboth*.

The second יהי רצון (p. 7, line 10) I reserve for the end of אלהי נצור (p. 54, line 5) before יהי רצון אמרי פי (p. 54, line 11), because it is R. Jehuda Hannasi's prayer, and its place is there. I have spoken of this at length in my elaborate work in the chapter מְדַלִּיקִין בַּמָּה (Shabbath, ch. ii.).

When I reach the reading of the Shema of R. Jehuda Hannasi which follows לפיכך (p. 8, line 11), I am accustomed to read the whole of the first section of the Shema (p. 40) till וּבִשְׁעָרָיָהּ. R. Jonah wrote in his *Novellae* on *T. B. Berachoth* that this is the Shema of R. Jehuda Hannasi. I have also to state that the Blessing at its close, viz., מְקַדֵּשׁ אֶת שְׁמֶךָ בְּרַבִּים, found in the *Talmud Jerushalmi* and composed with reference to the sanctification of God's Name, is well suited to follow it. Just as God sanctifies His Name among the many, so we

<sup>1</sup> The passage in the Tur is: "This blessing was composed because a man resigns his soul in the evening into the hands of the Holy One tired from the hard work of the day; and He returns it to man in the morning cheerful and tranquil."

are bound to sanctify His Name, to hand over our life in public for the sanctification of His Name. This is included in loving God with heart and soul, as Akiba ben Joseph did, who accepted martyrdom. It is therefore right to read the whole section, which enjoins the acceptance of Heaven's Kingdom, and to recite after it the blessing of *מְקַדֵּשׁ אֶת יְשׁוּעָה בְּרַבִּים*.

In accordance with the instructions of the Tur, it is proper to say after reading the chapter about the burnt offering, "May it be Thy will to accept this as if I offered a burnt offering at the proper time." Similar prayers should be said after the paragraphs respecting the meal offering, the peace offerings, and the guilt offering, *i.e.* an offering for sin that may possibly have been committed, which can be brought as a freewill offering. But since an offering for guilt known to us, or a sin offering, may not be brought as a freewill offering, the paragraph recounting the same should not be followed by a prayer similar to the one mentioned above.<sup>1</sup>

I am accustomed to recite aloud the Ten Commandments before *בְּרִיךְ שְׁמֵךְ* (p. 16), although Maimonides in a Responsum wrote that it is prohibited, bringing forward as his authority a passage from *T. B. Berachoth*, chap. i., in which it is stated that "in the territory outside Jerusalem the desire existed to read them, but they were expunged on account of the outcry of the Schismatics, who asserted that they were the essence of the Law." My view of this passage is that the prohibition refers only to reading them in the course of the blessing *יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* (p. 37, line 13), in the same manner as the Shema. So, too, Rashi explains it. To say them every morning in honour of the Law and of God's revered name (for the Ten Commandments were the writing of God engraved on the tablets) is a highly praiseworthy practice. The Tur also

<sup>1</sup> The sacrifices here referred to are mentioned in detail in the chapter of *אֵיזֶהוּ מְקוֹמָן* (p. 11, line 8).

wrote that it is right to say them. I recite them immediately before **ברוך שְׁאָמַר** (p. 16), for in the latter there are פ"ז, eighty-seven words, pointing to the verse (Song of Songs, v. 11) **ראשׁו כְּתָם פָּז**, which is explained in the Midrash to refer to the First Commandment. There is an additional special reason for this arrangement. The word **ברוך** is introduced ten times in the prayer **ברוך שְׁאָמַר**, reckoning from its beginning till **בא"ה אמ"ה הָאֵל**. This corresponds with the Ten Commandments. The intelligent will perceive and know my meaning. This enumeration does not include **ברוך הוּא** at the commencement and **ברוך שְׁמוֹ** at the end, for these expressions are the usual appendages of God's name.<sup>1</sup>

After **ברוך שְׁאָמַר** I have a tradition from my elders not to say the verse, "Who can tell the mighty acts of God? who can shew forth all His praise?" (Ps. cvi. 2), but at once to commence **הודו לָהּ** (p. 17, line 7). **מִזְמוֹר תְּהוֹדָה** (p. 20) should be dwelt upon and sung, for we say, "All songs will in the end be abolished except a psalm of praise." This ought to be recited on Sabbaths as well, as the Tur wrote, but the custom is against it. This likewise applies to the day before the Fast of Atonement, the reason being that on this day an offering of thanksgiving would not be permitted in the temple, because a sacrifice might not be brought with the knowledge that it would eventually become unfit to be eaten, the time allowed being one day and one night after being brought. Some are of opinion that the same rule applies to the day before the 9th of Ab. This, in my opinion, is a great mistake, because, should the temple be restored and sacrifices offered, the 9th of Ab will be a time of joy and gladness.

When I reach **אִשְׁרֵי** (p. 29, line 6) I omit the first two verses,

<sup>1</sup> The author's reading must have been somewhat different from that which we have, for, according to our version, the above remark does not need this qualification.



and commence **תְּהִלָּה לְדָוִד**, for this first verse was arranged to be said in order to meditate for some time before praying. For this reason I only say the first verse of **אֲשֶׁרִי** at the afternoon service before the Amidah, and the second verse of **אֲשֶׁרִי** I omit, as Tosaphoth explains in *T. B. Berachoth* that the first verse was introduced only because it concludes with the words, "They shall be ever praising Thee," which is immediately followed by the phrase, "A praise of David." Nevertheless, at the end I add, "But we will bless the Lord from now and for evermore. Hallelujah!" Although the repetition of Hallelujahs in this particular part is not appropriate, still the psalm commences with praise of God, and it should so conclude.

But before **לְמַנְצָה** (p. 73) I commence the 145th Psalm with the words **תְּהִלָּה לְדָוִד**, and conclude with **יְדִבֵּר בִּי תְהִלָּתְךָ**, and I do not add **וְאֶנְחֵנוּ נִבְרָךְ יְיָ**, for this is not its proper place, but only in the **פְּסוּקֵי דְזִמְרָא** (p. 30), in order to combine the Hallelujahs. And although there are different opinions, and additions are always made, I have also found a contrary view, viz. that it is desirable to commence the psalm with **תְּהִלָּה**, and to finish it with **תְּהִלָּה** (v. 21).

In the morning, when I enter the synagogue, I commence the verse **וְאֵנִי בְּרֹב חַסִּדֶּיךָ** (p. 2, line 1), and omit **מֶה-טוֹבוֹ אֶהְיֶיךָ** (p. 2, line 4), because Balaam said it. He, too, recited it so that it should be for a curse, as we find in *T. B. Sanhedrin* (105b); besides, this is not its proper place. The last verse, **וְאֵנִי תַפְלִיתִי** (p. 2, line 7), I omit, because it should only be said in the Sabbath afternoon service, where it was fixed by the Rabbis according to the Midrash, as is recorded in the Tur. When I take my seat I recite the two verses beginning with **אֲשֶׁרִי** (p. 29, lines 6 and 7) and nothing else. When about to depart from the synagogue, I sit down for a short time and say, "Surely the righteous shall give thanks unto Thy Name ;

the righteous shall dwell in Thy presence" (Ps. cxl. 13), which our Rabbis explain to mean that during a short period after prayer a halt should be made in the synagogue (*T. B. Bera-choth*, 32b). When I arise to depart I bow towards the ark and say, "For all the peoples walk every one in the name of his god, but we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever" (Micah iv. 5). When about to pass the door of the synagogue I again bow and say, "Lead me, O Lord, in Thy righteousness for the sake of my enemies: make straight Thy way before me" (Ps. v. 9), as R. Jonah has written.

We will now go back to the order of the service. When the Reader says בְּרַכֵּי (p. 37, line 10), I say from יִתְבָּרַךְ till כָּל בְּרָכָה וְתִהְיֶה בְּרוּךְ. When he says the name of God, I say בְּרוּךְ ה' שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מְלִכּוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד. And when he says הַמְבָרֵךְ, I say יְהִי שֵׁם ה' מְבָרֵךְ מְעַתָּה וָעֶד עוֹלָם. And when he has finished הַמְבָרֵךְ, I respond in a standing posture, הַמְבָרֵךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד, before taking my seat. New ideas have recently crept in to say אֵת ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ תִירָא (Deut. x. 20) when the Reader says the word אֵת. Know that this is not according to tradition nor according to the principles of wisdom.

Before reading the Shema in public I have a traditional custom to say אָמֵן before שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל. I never say נֶאֱמָן אֵל מֶלֶךְ נֶאֱמָן either when praying in private or with the congregation. Pay no regard to the statement of the מַרְרִיק<sup>1</sup>, who writes that אֵל מֶלֶךְ נֶאֱמָן should be said.

When I act as Reader on the anniversary of my father's death I repeat at the end of the Shema the three words אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֵנִי ה' (p. 42, line 8), without adding אֱמֶת, so that 248 words may complete the Shema. I say אֱמֶת immediately afterwards, but not in such a way that אֱמֶת, which does not belong to the Shema, may serve to complete the words of the Shema. I

<sup>1</sup> מורנו רב רבי יוסף קרא=מרריק.

found in the book called ק"ש שְׁעָרִים the same statement in the name of a certain Cabbalist.

Before commencing the Amidah I say וּפִי יִגִּיד ה' שִׁפְתֵי תִפְתָּח וּפִי יִגִּיד (p. 44, line 7), and nothing besides, even for the afternoon and additional services. I say the verses which are usually recited as responses, even in the prayer of יוֹצֵר (p. 37, line 14): e.g. when the Reader says יִתְגַּדֵּל it is customary to say נָא וְעַתָּה יִגְדַּל נָא (p. 75, line 7) and זְכוּר רַחֲמֶיךָ, and when he says יִתְפָּרֵד the congregation also say יִתְפָּרֵד. I do not object to these interruptions between יִשְׁתַּבַּח and יוֹצֵר אֱלֹהִים, because the prohibition only extends to frivolous chatter, but praise of the Deity appropriate to the passage is certainly permitted. However, I do not say them in the evening prayer, because the prayer called נְאֻלָּה must immediately precede the תְּפִלָּה, although רַשְׁב"א does not consider this of great importance in the evening prayer, as it is not obligatory. I have already stated my view in my comprehensive work in the chapter מְדַלֵּקִין בְּפֶה, that no difference should be made between the Amidah said in one prayer and that said in another prayer.

I do not say, as we find in some old Prayer-Books, רַפְּאֵינוּ ה' רַפְּאֵנוּ ה' (p. 47, line 6), but וְנִרְפָּא ה' רַפְּאֵנוּ ה' (p. 47, line 6), for it is a verse in Jeremiah (xvii. 14), except that we use a plural instead of the singular suffix: and so, too, it is not right to say נָא בְּעֵינֵינוּ רָאָה, but the middle word should be omitted, because in Ps. xxv. 18 we find רָאָה עֵינֵי וְעִמְלִי. In בְּרֵכֶת הַשָּׁנִים (p. 47, line 10) I say וְיִשְׂבַּעֲנוּ מִטּוֹבָךְ, and not מִטּוֹבָה, for that the human frame feels satisfied after a meal, does not depend upon the fact that the food grows in the earth, but upon God's blessing, which He bountifully grants unto us, as it is said, "Who placeth peace in thy borders and satisfieth thee with the fat of wheat" (Ps. cxlvii. 14). The good blessing, too, depends upon the Holy One, blessed be He, as it is said, "The Lord will open for thee His good treasure" (Deut.

xxviii. 12). In the case of a self-imposed fast I make my resolve when saying the prayer, יִסְמַע קוֹלִי (p. 49), in the afternoon service of the day before, without giving utterance to it, which is a somewhat stringent version of the view expressed by Samuel (*T. B. Taanith*, 12a), being afraid that it may be an interruption in the prayer in accordance with the view expressed in the *T. B.* by Rab. In אֱלֹהֵי נְצוּר (p. 54, line 6) I give utterance to my intention, and say, "To-morrow I, as an individual, take upon myself to fast. May it be Thy will to accept my abstinence with love." The סמ"ק, in the name of the ר', wrote that the latter made mention of the resolve to fast in אֱלֹהֵי נְצוּר (p. 54, line 6).

At the end of the Amidah I am accustomed to say: "Our King, our God, declare the Unity of Thy Name in Thy World, build Thy City, lay the foundation of Thy House, and complete the structure of Thy Temple, and gather together Thy People, and redeem Thy Flock, and give joy to Thy Community." It is a tradition that Rashi was accustomed to say this.

After this the Midrash, in the name of Samuel, viz. "Whoever recites the following four paragraphs will have the privilege to welcome the presence of the Shechinah," עֲשֵׂה לַמַּעַן שִׁמְךָ, &c. (p. 54, lines 8, 9, and 10).

After this I repeat יְהִי רָצוֹן שְׁתַּצִּילֵנִי הַיּוֹם (p. 7, line 10), which is the prayer of R. Jehuda Hannasi, as I have already stated above.

In עָלֵינוּ לְשִׁבְחָה (p. 76, line 9) I have accepted the tradition to say וּמוֹשֵׁב יְקָרוֹ.

I say בְּפֶגַע מַדְלִיקִין (p. 120, line 16) every Sabbath, even if a festival fall on the Friday. I have spoken at length in my book (in the chapter of מַדְלִיקִין בְּפֶגַע), with reference to the reading of אָמֵר ר' אֶלְעָזָר אָמֵר ר' חֲנִינָא (p. 122, line 4), that there is something missing. It is clearly quoted at the end of the ninth



chapter of *T. B. Berachoth*. It is my custom not to say it at all, because it was only introduced in order to say Kaddish. The Maharil fixed the decision that at the close of a section of the Talmud, when there are no biblical verses in the Midrashim of that Halacha, this section of R. Eleazar should be said. Since, therefore, we are accustomed to say *עָלֵינוּ לְשַׁבַּח* before *קְדוּשָׁה*, I do not need to read this section. And it is preferable to omit it, so that the recital of the Kaddish may not be postponed, especially as the congregation are in a hurry to finish the service.

In the prayer of *אֵל אֲדֹנָי* (p. 139, line 8) I say *בְּרוּךְ וּמְבֹרָךְ* (p. 139, line 8) I say *בְּרוּךְ* and not *בְּרוּךְ הוּא*, so that there may be only fifteen words like the first stanzas, which consist of five words each. The middle stanzas are four words each. Therefore it is right to say *חֶסֶד וְרַחֲמִים בְּכֹסֶא כְבוֹדוֹ*, or *חֶסֶד וְרַחֲמִים לְפָנַי כְבוֹדוֹ*, so that there may be only four words. It is better to say *בְּכֹסֶא*, and to omit *בְּכֹסֶא*, because in the previous stanza it is stated, *זְכוֹת וּמִישׁוֹר לְפָנַי כְּסֵאוֹ*.

In the additional prayer of the New Moon, *רַחֲמֵי לַעֲמֻךְ נָתַתָּה* (p. 225), I say *זִכְרוֹן לְכָלֵנוּ יְהוָה*. This is the reading in correct Prayer-Books. The Rambam has this reading. Afterwards I say *וְאַתָּה מוֹסֵף רַחֲמֵי*. And so in all the additional prayers I say *וְאַתָּה מוֹסֵף*, because it refers to what precedes. So wrote the *מהרא"י*.

In the section *וְנִסְכֵּיהֶם וְנִסְכֵּיהֶם* (p. 226, line 2) I omit *וְנִסְכֵּיהֶם* because I consider it to be an error of the scribe. For if an explanation of *כְּמִדְּבָר* is here attempted it ought to have stated with regard to the drink offerings, too, "and wine half a hin; and a third of a hin for a ram, and a fourth of a hin for a lamb, and a goat for an atonement, &c." The passage certainly only deals with the meal offerings when it uses the word *כְּמִדְּבָר*, and it is sparing in words with reference to the drink offerings, viz., *וַיֵּין בְּנִסְכּוֹ*. In Numbers all the meal offerings are enume-



rated time after time, and with reference to the drink offerings only *בְּמִשְׁפָּטָם*, or *וְנִסְבִּיהֶם*, is mentioned in the same way as we find in the prayer. And so it ought to be.

Just one word more with regard to the Kiddush of the eighth day of Succoth, which applies also to the Amidah. The book called *מִנְהָגִים* (customs) states that the word *חַג* should not be used, for it is not found in the Scriptures in connection with this festival. The Maharil wrote, "Should it be desired that the word *חַג* be used, then say *אֶת יוֹם שְׁמִינִי חַג הָעֶצֶרֶת הַזֶּה*, for the eighth day is subordinate to the festival, showing that it is not in truth a festival by itself (but a continuation of Tabernacles), as is stated in *T. B. Yoma, 2b.*" I find it difficult to agree with this statement. No mistake can be made; for if it were intended to mark the eighth day as a festival, the statement would have been *אֶת יוֹם חַג שְׁמִינִי עֶצֶרֶת הַזֶּה*, as is the case with the other festivals. It is certainly preferable to say *אֶת חַג יוֹם שְׁמִינִי* than to say *יוֹם שְׁמִינִי עֶצֶרֶת הַזֶּה*, for the former does not introduce a foreign word into the wording of Scripture, for we read *יוֹם שְׁמִינִי הָעֶצֶרֶת*. He who wishes to arrange the words of the prayer in accordance with all the different views, should say *אֶת יוֹם שְׁמִינִי הָעֶצֶרֶת חַג הַזֶּה*. Such is my custom.

These are my new ideas. Although they be small, my soul may find life in them. I had not the leisure to dilate at length with reference to them, for the busy times overpower me. "Peace to you" are the words of Solomon Luria.

## METAPHORS AND SIMILES IN MIDRASHIC POETRY.

BY THE REV. ASHER FELDMAN, B.A.

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The subject of Midrashic Poetry has not yet received adequate treatment. This applies more especially to that branch of it which has reference to Metaphors and Similes. It is the purpose of this essay to deal with this part of a most absorbing subject ; but in view of the limited space at my disposal, I can refer to one aspect of it only, and that, too, very briefly and in general outline. I hope, however, to take another opportunity of developing more fully the points touched upon in this essay, and of considering also any fresh ones that may arise in the course of a more detailed treatment of the whole subject.

The Hebrew Bible has its complement in the Talmud. And just as the legal parts of the written Law are interpreted and developed in the Halacha, so are the poetic portions of the sacred Scriptures expanded and elaborated in the Agada. This applies in a large measure to metaphors and similes, which constitute a considerable portion of biblical poetry. The metaphors and similes of the Bible receive due attention from the Jewish Rabbis of old ; they are expanded and explained in the pages of the Talmud. And it is this fact which lends historical and exegetical importance, as well as poetic interest, to the study of Midrashic metaphors. For the explanation and elaboration of Biblical metaphors and similes in the Midrash often throws fresh light upon the poetry of the

Bible. Moreover, the difference in the conception and presentation of the same metaphor or simile in the Bible and the Talmud suggests a comparison between the love and knowledge of Nature, the development of the poetic genius, and the power of imagination on the part of the authors and readers in the Biblical and Talmudic periods respectively.

But the metaphors and similes of the Midrash are not all of an exegetical character; they are not all based upon or suggested by the text or the spirit of the Bible. Midrashic poetry abounds in purely Rabbinic metaphors and similes, which do not have their origin in the Bible. These, again, open up new aspects of the subject. How far are these non-Biblical metaphors the pure product of Jewish thought, the true reflection of Jewish life? Are there any adaptations, borrowed from the ancient and current literatures of the nations; and if so, how far have these borrowed ideas or figures of speech been changed or modified in the process of their adaptation into the Jewish fold?

All these inquiries are exceedingly interesting and important in their bearings upon the history of Jewish life and thought. But I am placing these considerations outside the scope of my present paper. Here I propose merely to indicate and illustrate one possible classification of the poetic passages in the Midrash which deal with metaphors and similes.

#### CLASS I.

In Midrashic poetry the compressed metaphor of the Bible is often expanded into a full and comprehensive simile. Take the following example from the Book of Psalms:—

“Thou broughtest a vine out of Egypt :  
 Thou didst drive out the nations and plantedst it,  
 Thou preparedst room before it,  
 And it took deep root and filled the land ” (Ps. lxxx. 8 ff.).

In the Midrash this metaphor becomes an elaborately worked out simile:—

“Israel is like unto the vine. The vine for improvement is transplanted, root and all, from place to place. Even so, when the Holy One, blessed be He, wished to make Israel known in the world, He tore them away from the land of Egypt and took them to the wilderness, where they commenced to prosper” (*Exod. Rabbah*, xli. 1).

“The vine is not planted in moist and rocky soil; the ground beneath it is sifted and cleared: even so were the heathens cast out from the land before Israel was introduced; all the kings were removed and cleared away.”

And the Midrash proceeds to elaborate, with a richness of detail, this beautiful comparison between Israel and the vine:—

“The vine, though the lowest among the trees, is ruler of them all. It is made to hang over and twine round the dead trees. The apparently useless leaves serve to protect the clusters of grapes, and the more heavily laden the branch, the lower it hangs. The vines are planted in regular series, and the watchman is placed high above them. Even so it is with Israel. Though low in this world, yet rich and extensive will be their portion in the world to come. Israel rely upon, and are supported by, their dead Patriarchs [a reference to the theory of ancestral merit, זכות אבות]. The ignorant among them serve as a safeguard for the disciples of the wise; and the more learned the latter, the more lowly they are. Israel in their journeyings were arrayed in regular order, with God the Watchman ever above them” (*Lev. Rabbah*, xxxvi. 2).

Another instance of the same kind concerns the following metaphor from Jeremiah (i. 17):—

“Israel is a scattered sheep; the lions have driven him

away ; first, the King of Assyria hath devoured him ; and last, this Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, hath broken his bones."

In Midrashic poetry this metaphor is turned into a simile :—

"Israel is like unto a lamb. When the lamb is beaten on the head or any other part of the body, all the limbs feel the blow ; even so it is with Israel ; one of them sins, and all feel the effects of it" (*Lev. Rabb.* iv. 6).

One more example from the Book of Psalms. The thirteenth verse of Psalm lxxviii. should, according to Rashi and the Targum, be translated as follows :—

"Though ye [addressing the other nations] rest on your borders [*sc.* indulging in pleasures], the wings of the dove are covered with silver, and her pinions with yellow gold."

This is a pure metaphor. In the Midrash it is elaborated and expanded into a simile :—

"Israel is like a dove. The dove is rescued [*v.l.* protected] by its wings, so are Israel delivered by virtue of the precepts" (*Berachoth*, 53*b*).

## CLASS II.

Much more interesting is the treatment in Midrashic poetry of Biblical similes. In the Bible the terms only of the comparison are indicated. It is left to the imagination of the reader to work out the points of similarity. The Rabbis, as interpreters of the Bible, have suggested these points, and have added breadth and beauty to the similes they explain.

Let me give a few instances :—

(a) "The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree : He shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon" (Ps. xcii. 12).



"The palm tree," proceeds the Midrash, "when uprooted, cannot be replaced; even so it is with the righteous, when they are dead their place cannot be filled" (*Bamidbar Rabbah*, iii. 1).

"The palm tree and the cedar cast their shadows far away; even so is the reward of the righteous far removed. And just as the stems of the palm tree and the cedar are straight in their growth, so are the hearts of the righteous upright, ever rising heavenwards" (*Gen. Rabb.* xli. 1 and other places).

(b) "Thy children (shall be) like olive plants round about thy table" (Ps. cxxviii. 3).

"Even as the olive plants are of pure growth, so shall there be no impurity amongst thy children" (*Shocheh Tob*, *ad loc.*).

(c) "For I have spread you abroad as the four winds of the heaven, saith the Lord."

"For even as the world cannot exist without winds, so mankind cannot exist without Israel" (*Taanith*, 3b).

Note the turn given to this apparently untoward prophecy against Israel. A similar change of conception will be observed in the two following instances:—

(d) "For the Lord shall smite Israel as a reed is shaken in the water; and He shall root up Israel out of this good land, which He gave to their fathers, and shall scatter them beyond the river; because they have made their Asherim, provoking the Lord to anger" (1 Kings xiv. 15).

Ahijah intended it as a curse, but it was in reality a rich blessing, explain the Rabbis. For the simile used, true to nature, had another significance:—

"Behold the reed," they continue, "growing in the water; its stem is renewable and its roots are numerous; all the winds of the world blowing against it cannot move it away, for it waves with them to and fro, and when the winds are

abated the reed remains in its place. Even so it is with Israel, taking their stand by the waters of the Torah. If they are moved from the land and driven into exile, their stem is there renewed, and they occupy themselves with the Law" (*Taanith*, 20a).

(e) "The best of them is as a brier" (Micah vii. 4).

This simile is generally interpreted in a disparaging sense. But the Rabbis say—

"Even as the briars protect the breaches in the garden fence, so do the good men act for us as a safeguard and protection" (*Erubin*, 101a).

### CLASS III.

But in addition to developing and elaborating the metaphors and similes already found in the Bible, Midrashic poetry often introduces into it new metaphors and similes, thus lending fresh poetic significance and additional charm to certain passages of sacred Scripture. The Song of Songs abounds in beautiful instances of this kind. For the whole of this Biblical lyric has been regarded by the Rabbis as an allegory—a collection of metaphors grouped together and woven into an artistic whole. But I will quote two or three instances of this class from other books of the Bible:—

(a) "And be thou a blessing, בִּרְכָה" (Gen. xii. 2).

"Be thou a brook, בְּרִיָּה," says the Midrash. "For even as the running brook purifies the unclean, so do thou bring near the estranged ones and purify them for their Father in heaven" (*Gen. Rabb.* xxxix. 11).

(b) "On his arrival at Bethel," says the Midrash, in reference to Gen. xxviii. 11, "Jacob heard the voice of the ministering angels exclaiming, 'The sun has come, the sun has come!'" בֵּא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ (*Gen. Rabb.* lxviii. 10).

A truly poetic and highly suggestive metaphor for the third Patriarch, read into a Bible text.

(c) "And great shall be the peace of thy children" (Isa. liv. 13).

"Great shall be the peace of thy 'builders,'" is the varied reading of the Rabbis (*Sabbath*, 114a), thus introducing into the Bible a beautiful metaphor, in which "the builder" stands for the child in the narrower sense, or has the wider significance of the disciple of the wise.

We have a companion metaphor to the last one in Midrashic literature.

In 2 Sam. i. 24 בנות ירושלים, "ye daughters of Jerusalem," is also varied into בנות ירושלים, "ye builders of Jerusalem," meaning the Sanhedrin (*Exod. Rabb.* xxiii. 10).

#### CLASS IV.

The metaphors referred to in the previous section were of a purely Rabbinic conception. But there is a class of metaphors, the ideas of which, though new to the passage in question, are traceable in other parts of the Bible, and may have been suggested by them. Take the following instance from the Song of Songs:—

"I said, 'I will climb up into the palm tree,  
I will take hold of the branches thereof.'"

—Cant. vii. 8.

The palm tree here, according to the Rabbis, is a metaphorical representation of Israel (*Sanhedrin*, 93a). This conception of Israel as the palm tree, though fresh to this particular passage, was suggested no doubt by the Book of Psalms, where the righteous man is likened unto the flourishing palm tree (Ps. xcii. 12). For the transition from

the individual to the general, from the righteous man to the righteous nation, is but a natural one, and of frequent occurrence. The same image in the Book of Psalms is probably also the basis for the beautiful interpretation of Judges iv. 5, "And she sate under the palm tree," which is taken by the Rabbis to mean, "she dwelt among Israel," who, like the palm tree, were of one heart and one purpose (*Megillah*, 14a).

Or take another instance:—

"And a great stone was upon the well's mouth" (Gen. xxix. 2). "The great stone," explain the Rabbis, "is the evil inclination, the Yetzar Hara." This interpretation was suggested by the term "a heart of stone" in the prophetic literature (Ezek. xi. 9; xxxvi. 26).

Or again, "And he hid him (or it) in the sand" (Exod. ii. 12). This means, say the Rabbis, that Moses confided the secret to the Israelites (*Exod. Rabb.* i. 29). For the Israelites are often considered in the Bible under the figure of the sand.

#### CLASS V.

The methods adopted in the case of new metaphors, and referred to under the two previous headings (Classes III. and IV.), are used in Midrashic poetry also in regard to new similes. Some of the similes introduced by the Rabbis into the Bible text have no basis in sacred Scripture, whilst others have been suggested by the words and phrases, by the thoughts and ideas, in this or in other parts of the Bible. The instances corresponding to Class III. in metaphors seem to be rather rare. Here is one example to illustrate my meaning:—

"The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree: he shall grow like a cedar in Lebanon" (Ps. xcii. 12).

In Midrashic poetry the terms of the comparison are widened, and the simile becomes almost a new one:—

“*Israel* is like unto the palm tree and the cedar. The palm tree has no waste: the dates are used for food, the branches for praise (in divine worship), the dry and withered twigs for covering, the threads or fibres for ropes, the panicles for sieves and for beams to cover the house. Even so it is in Israel; all members have their places, and are useful in their respective spheres. And just as with the palm tree and the cedar, whosoever climbs to the top without care and precaution falls down and is killed, so whosoever attacks Israel will receive punishment at their hands” (*Gen. Rabb.* xli. 1).

#### CLASS VI.

The other class of new similes read into the Bible is of more frequent occurrence in Rabbinic poetry. Here are a few instances:—

(a) Palestine is called in the Book of Daniel (xi. 16) “the pleasant” or “goodly” land, אֶרֶץ הַצִּבִּי. The use of the term צִבִּי, which signifies “a stag” as well as “beauty,” suggested to the Rabbis several similes in which the land of Israel is compared to the stag (see, e.g. *Kethuboth*, 112a).

(b) “Hear this, all ye peoples ;

גִּיַּע אוֹר, all ye inhabitants of the world,” כָּל יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ.

—Ps. xlix. 2.

The somewhat rare expression הָאָרֶץ for world, suggested to the poetic Rabbis the following new and original simile from the animal kingdom:—

“All the inhabitants of the world are like the weasel, הוֹלֵדָה. Even as the weasel collects the grains and lays them up in a hoard and knows not for whom it is storing, so do all who



come into this world treasure up wealth, without knowing to whom they will leave it" (*Talkut, ad loc.*).

(c) "If one is compelled to ask for human help, his countenance changes like the colours of the כרום" (perhaps the sea-cormorant, *κορῶνη*; evidently some sea-bird that changes its colours in the sunlight). So runs a Talmudic simile (*Berachoth, 6b*). This is based upon the rather obscure passage in Psalms (xii. 9), כרום זלות לבני אדם.

(d) "Before judgment is pronounced, the cause must be as clear and as evident as the morning," is another Rabbinic simile. This again is suggested by the prophetic injunction (*Jer. xxi. 12*), דינו לבקר משפט, "Execute judgment in the morning."

## CLASS VII.

Very often in Midrashic poetry several of the Biblical metaphors and similes which have reference to the same object are grouped together, and a new point of comparison is established. Israel in the Bible is compared to the dust and likewise to the stars. Rabbinic poetry joins together these two ideas, and forms a new conception of this combination of similes:—

"When Israel are brought low they are as low as the dust, but once they are raised, they rise even unto the stars" (*Megillah, 16a*).

The Law is compared to water, wine, and milk (*Isa. lv. 1*). The different terms of the comparison are variously worked out in Midrashic poetry. But one general simile is formed also out of the combination of the three terms:—

"Even as these three beverages are best preserved in the simplest of vessels, so are the words of the Law most safe in him who is of humble disposition" (*Taanith, 7a*).

## CLASS VIII.

It now only remains for me to draw attention to what I called the purely Rabbinic metaphors and similes, that is, those figures which are not based either upon the letter or the spirit of the Bible. They are varied in subject and character. They are drawn from the whole realm of nature; from animate and inanimate objects, from the world of plants and from the varied crafts and occupations of the town and the country. I can give here only a few illustrations from the vast number I have collected and classified in different ways for closer study and consideration on another occasion. Let me quote some metaphors first:—

(a) "Four persons entered the Pardes; one of them, Elisha ben Abuyyah, began to hew down the tender plants" (*Hagigah*, 14*b*). This is the metaphorical description of the soaring of the scholastic mind into the realms of speculative philosophy, and the varied influences exercised upon the faith and beliefs of the several students.

(b) Another purely Rabbinic metaphor bearing on the same subject may here be mentioned. "Rabbi Meir found a pomegranate," say the sages; "he ate up its kernel and threw away the shell" (*Hagigah*, 15*b*), thereby conveying the idea that Rabbi Meir absorbed what was best in the teachings of Acher, his tutor, but selected and discarded his dangerous doctrines.

(c) The all-round scholars filled with knowledge are spoken of by the Rabbis in several places as "the clusters of grapes" (*e.g.* *Chullin*, 92*a*); whilst

(d) Their departure from the academy to their respective homes is in one place expressed as "the eagles winging their way to their nests" (*Erubin*, 53*b*).

(e) The cow suckling its young is the metaphorical image

in Midrashic poetry for the relations between the teacher and his disciples: "Much more anxious than the calf to suck is the cow to suckle" (*Pesachim*, 112a).

Ravages by death are described in Rabbinic poetry in various beautiful metaphors. The cutting off of the branches is a figure for the death of children (*Baba Mezia*, 108a), and the departure of the soul is referred to metaphorically as the loss of a precious pearl (*Yerushalmi Kilaim*, ix. 28), or the flying away of a bird (*Sanhedrin*, 91a).

And now for a few examples of purely Midrashic similes. A number of these are found in the *Ethics of the Fathers* (see ii. 11; iii. 22; iv. 21, 25, 26). But I will quote some instances from other parts of Rabbinic literature:—

(a) "Infidelity in the home is like a worm in a poppy-seed" (*Sota*, 3b).

(b) "To attempt to uproot a word of the Torah is as futile as to endeavour to whiten a black raven's wings" (*Lev. Rabb.* xix. 2).

(c) "The guides of the generation were as the face of the dog (for shamelessness)" (*Sanhedrin*, 97a).

(d) "Those who eat irregularly at all times of the day are like the fowls pecking in the dust" (*Yoma*, 75b).

The same touch from the habits of birds is used elsewhere for another purpose: "I will exact punishment from them gradually (little by little), like the pecking of the fowls in the dust" (*Abodah Zara*, 4a).

(e) "Society and the family are like a heap of stones. When one stone is removed the whole heap is shaken, but when a stone is added the heap is made firmer and remains standing" (*Gen. Rabb.* c. 7).

(f) "Even as salt acts as preservative to meat, so does the soul preserve the body" (*Id.* xxxiv. 10).

(g) "The death of the righteous is like unto the loss of

a precious pearl. The pearl is lost to its owner, but exists somewhere; even so is the righteous lost to his generation only, but has existence still" (*Megillah*, 15a).

And here I must end. I have only touched the fringe of a wide and fascinating subject. I hope to return to it again on a future occasion.

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# SOME POINTS OF COMPARISON AND CONTRAST IN JEWISH AND ROMAN LAW.

BY THE REV. MOSES HYAMSON, B.A., LL.B.

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Two nations have developed majestic systems of Jurisprudence, the first of sciences, which Lord Brougham somewhere styles the Quintessence of Practical Wisdom.

Ancient Rome, from a small hamlet, over whose low walls the founder's twin brother, according to the legend of her foundation, jumped in derision, became in time a world-conqueror.

Her sway at one time (133 B.C.E.) extended from the Pillars of Hercules to the monarchies of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, and her conquests were even then not complete. Various races, each with its distinct civilisation, laws, and customs, were brought under the yoke, and compelled to acknowledge her supremacy.

Hence, by very force of circumstances, from the divergent and doubtless often conflicting systems of the nations under her rule, was evolved the *jus gentium*, which almost entirely absorbed the ancient *jus civile*, and which forms one of the foundations of modern European Law.

The Jewish people, who trace their descent to a nomad Emir, strangers and wanderers at the beginning of their history, and, with brief intervals of rest, strangers and wanderers ever since, scattered and dispersed in many lands, and even when upon their own land subjected at different epochs to many foreign masters—Assyrians, Babylonians,



Greeks, Persians, Romans—thrown into contact with many nations, yet always preserving their own keen intellectual individuality—this race has also evolved a magnificent system of Jurisprudence, to which full justice has never yet been rendered. Jewish Political Independence does not exist, and consequently Jewish Jurisprudence has no penal sanctions. The observance of its laws is not enforced by physical pains and penalties. There is no army or police to compel obedience to a Jewish Judge's decision, no prison to incarcerate the recalcitrant for contempt of court. But Jewish Law, civil as well as ecclesiastical, enjoys the homage of the bulk of the Jewish race. It is orderly, reasoned, logical. It is a living system that has developed and is developing; and, on these grounds, it is entitled to the name Law, as much at least as Public International Law, which also emanates from no sovereign authority and has no sanctions, has been largely evolved by civilian Jurists, and depends for its observance on the voluntary assent of the Family of Nations that calls itself civilised.

The basis of Jewish Jurisprudence and its *point d'appui* is, of course, the Bible, and especially the Five Books of Moses. And as Christianity was the Law of the later Roman Empire, even as it is now part of the Law of the Land in all European countries, with one exception—that of Turkey—and as the Bible is the text-book of Christianity, we need feel no surprise at the appearance in the pre-Justinian period of the *Lex Dei, Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio*, a comparison of the Mosaic and Roman Laws ascribed to Rufinus, “a prætorian prefect of Theodosius I. who died in 395 c.e., or to Rufinus, a fellow-pupil of St. Jerome, founder of the Mount of Olives Convent, and one of the fathers of the Church” (Hunter, p. 88). Texts are quoted from the Pentateuch; parallels are drawn from the writings of the Jurists or Imperial Constitutions.

It is not intended in this paper to write a critique of this

compilation, which, apart "from its usefulness in reconstructing the works quoted from Paul's *Sententiæ*, Paul's *Regulæ*, and the Hermogenian and Gregorian Codes," does not seem to have much value for our purpose, and for the following reason. The Pentateuch, the תורה שבכתב, the *Jus Scriptum*, is only the foundation of Jewish Law. The magnificent superstructure in which Judaism and Jewry live and move and have their being, is the תורה שבעל פה, the Oral Law, the *Jus non-Scriptum*, the nearest analogue to which is our English Common Law. This is the eternal living principle implanted in us.<sup>1</sup> This represents the Jural consciousness of the Jewish People. The joint product of heredity and environment, the Oral Law is rooted in ancestral traditions, which themselves rest on the bed-rock of the Scriptures, and at the same time has developed and is developing in accordance with new needs and conditions, not by sudden upheavals or violent revolutionary changes, but by the slow imperceptible process of gradual evolution. And in this sense the saying is true, "Whatever a competent disciple will decide in his teacher's presence has been already said to Moses on Sinai."<sup>2</sup>

The philosophic mind is not content with mere observation and classification of facts and their reduction to rules. It seeks to trace causes, indicate mutual influences, and establish connections and relationships between cognate departments of knowledge. It aims at the larger unity which comprehends differences in human institutions, and explains those differences by differences of environment or heredity. The philosophy of a subject lies, therefore, not at its centre, but at its points of contact or section with related subjects.

<sup>1</sup> ח"י עולם נטע בתוכנו זו תורה שבעל פה (*T. J. Megilla*, iv.).

<sup>2</sup> כל מה שתלמיד ותיק עתיד להורות לפני רבו כבר נאמר למשה מסיני (*Chagiga*, 36).

*Cf.* also Matt. xxiii. 2, 3: "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do."

And so the modern Jewish student of Law will not be satisfied with the study of Jewish Law and Roman Law as isolated and independent fields of science. He will ask: Are there parallels or contrasts between the two systems? How are these to be explained? Has there been mutual interaction, and in what directions? The reply is that all the data point with a high degree of probability to contact, and consequently to mutual influence. During a large portion of the period of development in both systems, there was free, constant, and continual intercommunication between Rome and Judæa.

Judas Maccabæus, after his victories over Antiochus, sent an embassy to Rome. The Syrian War, 192-184 B.C.E., certainly brought Jews in touch with the Roman legionaries. Rome's embrace of Judæa tightened till Judæa's political existence as an independent state was strangled. A hundred years before the destruction of the second temple, Judæa was, nominally under its own rulers, really a subject province of the All-conquering Power. After the fall of Jerusalem, we read of embassies to Rome in the reign of various Roman Emperors—Caligula, Claudius, Trajan. After Bar Cochba's valiant but desperate attempt to regain independence had failed, and the last embers of revolution had been quenched in torrents of blood, a milder period followed. The Patriarchate was semi-officially recognised.<sup>1</sup>

R. Judah the Prince enjoyed the personal friendship of one of the Antonines, either Antoninus Pius or more probably Marcus Aurelius Philosophus. There were Jewish colonies at Rome, comprehending observant co-religionists who were at the same time men of influence. Theodos of Rome is the name that occurs at once to the mind.<sup>2</sup> The classical period, the

משפחתו של ר' נמליאל היו מגדלין בלורית מפני שהם קרובין למלכות. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> (T. B. *Pesachim*, 53a and 53b) תודוס אי"ט רומי

golden age of Roman Jurisprudence, coincides with an active period in the development of Jewish Law, Hillel to R. Juda the Prince's Codification.

Just as at Rome there sprang up in the days of Augustus two schools of Jurists, the followers of the rigid Ateius Capito and those who preferred the milder teaching of Antistius Labeo, so Jewish Law has its Hillel and Shammai and their respective schools.

And even as the Roman rival schools did not differ in fundamental principles, but only in detailed applications,<sup>1</sup> so it has been said of Beth Shammai and Beth Hillel, אַע"פּ שׂאלו אוסרים ואלו מתירין אלו פוסלין ואלו מכשירין לא נמנעו בית שמאי מלישא נשים מבית הלל ולא בה מב"ש (T. B. *Jebamoth*, 13*b*, Mishna).

A curious chronological coincidence, too, it is that the completion of what afterwards came to be called the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, viz. Justinian's *Digests*, *Constitutions*, and *Institutes*, nearly synchronises with the חתימת התלמוד, the Final Redaction of the Babylonian Talmud, by Rabina and R. Ashi and the Saburaim. Yet more, the Glossators of Bologna, who in the eleventh century wrote glosses or marginal notes on every paragraph and almost every word of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and so revived, and as has been said, recreated the study of Roman Law, have their counterpart at about the same period in Rashi and his successors the Tosafists.

These coincidences are hardly accidental. It seems more logical to regard them as so many converging lines of evidence

<sup>1</sup> "If we now inquire whether this divergence of schools was based on any difference of principle, the answer is No! . . . it was merely a difference on a multitude of isolated points of detail. We are told, indeed, that the founders were men of dissimilar character and intellectual dispositions, that Labeo was characterised by boldness of logic and a spirit of innovation, while Capito rested on tradition and authority, and inclined to conservatism" (*Dig.*, I, 2, 4, 7). . . . "We must suppose that the intellectual impulse given by Labeo was communicated to the followers of both schools of Jurisprudence" (Poste's *Gaius*, 134, 135). The closeness of the parallel between the tendencies of these schools and those of Beth Hillel and Beth Shammai is most remarkable.



pointing to mutual interaction of the two systems. As has been well said, Jewish History is painted on a background of Universal History. So many occasions of contact, whether friendly or hostile, could not fail to have exerted an influence on the Jurists of the two nations. *Acknowledged* borrowing there is indeed none. But lawyers are chary of admitting the sources whence they have drawn their wisdom. The Law is supposed to originate *in gremio judicium*. English writers like Glanvil, Fleta, Bracton have incorporated into their works large portions of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* without admitting their indebtedness. It must also be remembered that an unconscious infiltration of ideas takes place when intellects are working about the same time, on the same subject, even though on parallel and independent lines. *Acknowledged* borrowing there is indeed none, but no one with any knowledge of Post-Biblical and Rabbinical Law can take up his Gaius or Justinian without parallels and contrasts in every branch of Law, Family, Property, Obligations, contractual and delictual, Procedure, forcing themselves on his notice. To trace out carefully in the Talmud on the one hand, and in the *Institutes*, *Digest*, and *Code* on the other, the similarities and the differences in their respective laws and institutions, with special attention to the dates of their genesis in the two systems, so as to indicate which has the credit of originality,<sup>1</sup> would require the entire energies of many generations of scholars. And the result of this disproportionate labour would after all be barren and profitless. We propose rather to devote a few pages to the conception of Law and the

<sup>1</sup> We must bear in mind that parallelisms do not necessarily always imply derivative relationship. Certain rules are so reasonable that they are to be found in all systems. They belong to the *jus naturale quod vero naturalis ratio inter omnes homines constituit* (Just., *Inst.* i. 2, 1). Still, where a rule occurring in two systems is obviously artificial or conventional, the only alternative to the inference that one borrowed it mediately or immediately from the other is that both derived it from a third source.



development of its administration among the Jews and Romans, so as to exhibit the character and spirit of the two nations, of which their respective legal institutions are the faithful reflection and product.

## I.

## EARLY CONCEPTION OF LAW.

The Latin term for Law in its widest and most general sense is *Jus*. A few of its derivatives are *Judex*, *Judicium*, *Jurisprudentia*, *Jubeo*. The *Judex* is one who declares *jus*, *qui jus dicit*. *Jubeo* is a compound of *jus habeo*. In later Roman Law *Jus* has several distinct meanings, all of which have their analogues in the Hebrew דין. *Jus* means—

- I. The whole body of Law, דת ודין.
- II. Portions of it, *jus civile*, *jus gentium*, דין ישראל, דין עכו"ם.
- III. Single enactments or bodies of rules, דין בשר בחלב.
- IV. Legal rights, in the phrase הדין עמו.
- V. Decision, in the phrase חותבין את הדין.
- VI. Place of judgment (*Prætor's*), Deborah's song, יושבי על מדין  
(Judges v. 9), בית דין.
- VII. *Jus strictum*, as opposed to Equity, יקוב הדין את ההר  
לא חרבה ירושלים אלא על שהעמידו דיניהם על דין תורה  
—(*Baba Mezia*, 30b).
- VIII. Justice, על ג' דברים העולם עומד על הדין וכו' (*Ethics*, i., end).

דין originally meant championship. God is called אלמנות דין, the Judge, or rather the Champion, of the widows. The *Shofetim* were not jurists, but defenders of the nation against their oppressors. So the phrase in the Liturgy, והדין את דיננו, הרב את ריבנו, should be rendered not "Who pleaded our cause and judged our suit," but "Who championed and defended our cause." A prominent element, then, in the Jewish conception of justice is the Redress of Wrong, the championship

of the weak and defenceless against the strong and violent oppressor.

What is the origin of the term *jus*? The older form, we are told by the philologists, was *jous*, connected with Jove,<sup>1</sup> or identified with the *yos* of the Vedas, and the *yaos* of the Zend Avesta, the Divine Will.<sup>2</sup> The early Romans, like the Greeks, regarded the pronouncements of the judges as divine oracles, *θέμιστες*.<sup>3</sup>

The parallel in early Biblical literature is in the use of the name *Elohim* as applied to judges:—

עד האלהים יבא דבר שניהם אשר ירשעון אלהים ישלם שנים-לרעהו: אלהים לא תקלל.

Both the primary and secondary senses of *Elohim* we find in the text Psalm lxxxii. 1, אלהים נצב בעדלת אל בקרב אלהים ישפוט.

Some derive *Jus* from the Sanscrit *yu*, to join. *Jus* is the bond of society. But here, too, the analogy holds good, for אלהים comes from אָלָה, to bind. Hence אָלָה, a binding oath; *cp.* אָלָם in the Piel, מאלמים אלמים, “binding sheaves,” אָלָם, “tongue-tied.” Law and Religion originally formed one system. *Jurisprudentia* was *divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia*. “The law administered was the Will of Heaven. The enactments were given by Heaven for the guidance of men on earth. The administration of justice originally came within the scope of the priest’s functions. The sanctions were largely religious” (Muirhead). This statement of early Roman Law reads like an account of the Torah, of which the priests were originally to be the teachers, יורו משפטך ליעקב, ותורתך לישראל, and sometimes the judges, ובאת אל הכהן או אל השופט.

So far the parallel between the two conceptions of Law.

<sup>1</sup> *Apuleius de deo Socratis*. So Lasaulx, *Ueber den Eid bei den Römern*. Huschke, *Das alte Römische Jahr*, quoted in Muirhead.

<sup>2</sup> Bréal, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Prima deum fas quae Themis Graiis*. Ausonius, quoted in Muirhead.

Now for the contrast. They who need the service of a judge are not students who live quiet, retired, calm, contemplative lives, but merchants, manufacturers, artisans, those who do the active work of the world in the counting-house, the factory, and the market-place. These find themselves frequently involved in conflicts with their fellow-men, and require the good offices of the *bonus arbiter*, the peace-making adjudicator, to adjust their disputes.

The preliminary process before trial and the mode of trial exhibit in their peculiarities national characteristics.

For a considerable period a Roman trial had to be preceded by a *vindicatio*—the assertion of a claim. This took the form of *manuum consertio*, a mock fight, a threatened breach of the peace. And this pretended fight, *vis ex conventu*, was to a late period an essential element in interdict procedure. A man had to be prepared to fight for his right before an injunction was granted. In Jewish legal procedure this ultimate appeal to force, this barbarous mimic warfare, was conspicuous by its absence. What is the reason for the distinction? It lies in the origin, history, and resulting characters of the two nations.

Rome, whatever the pursuits of its citizens originally, soon became a nation of aggressive warriors. The Roman literally lived by his sword. His property was called *praedium*, booty. The best title was that of conquest, *maxime sua esse credebant quae ex hostibus cepissent* (*Gaius*, iv. 16). "My strong arm has gained for me all this wealth," the Roman patrician might indeed have said, as he surveyed his broad domains of *ager publicus* captured from the foe and assigned to him by the State, and cultivated by the captives of his spear, whose lives had been spared at the price of lifelong servitude.<sup>1</sup> Just as

<sup>1</sup> "Servi autem ex eo appellati sunt quod imperatores captivos vendere jubent ac per hoc servare nec occidere solent" (*Just.*, *In.* i. 3, 3). עֶבֶר is possibly connected etymologically with אָכַר?

the gentleman in the Middle Ages was the *Armiger*, the esquire entitled to bear arms, so the *Quirites*, the Roman lords, were spearmen. The symbol of the spear dominated the centumviral court and the State auction.

For a nation of warriors, might is right. A man must assert his right with his own strong hand. "In sich selbst trägt der Einzelne den Grund seines Rechtes, durch sich selbst muss er es schützen" (Jhering, *Geist des Römischen Rechts*, quoted Moyle, *Excursus*, x. p. 613).

This period of self-redress leaves its strongly-marked traces in the mock combat, the *vindicatio manuum consertio*, *vis ex conventu*, in the terms *manus*, power, and *mancipium*, servant.<sup>1</sup>

How different the origin and history of the Jews. A nation descended from shepherds, enslaved, then emancipated from servitude, and with the exception of short intervals of peace and freedom continually struggling, not for extension of territory, not for increase of dominion, but for bare existence.

There could not be a sharp division between patron and client, patrician and plebeian, where all had originally been slaves. There was no struggle for political privileges where all were from the first equal before the law. Such an origin, such a history, such circumstances and conditions, such principles of justice and equality and kindness laid down from the first, could not but beget and foster gentleness and sympathy for the oppressed and fellow-feeling for the forlorn. The stranger is not a *hostis*, as with the Romans, but a guest, a sojourner, even as Abraham had been a sojourner, even as all Israel were sojourners. He is to be treated not in the spirit of enmity but of love. And with such sentiments there could be no *manuum consertio*, no mock fight preliminary to

<sup>1</sup> So the Normans, a fighting race, introduce into conquered England the savage trial by combat, only formally abolished by 59 Geo. IV. c. 46.

a trial, for already in Egypt a Hebrew who raised his hand against his brother was branded as wicked—

רשע למה תכה רעד: כל המרים יד נקרא רשע.

If men have a difference, it comes before the judge to be settled by peaceful arbitration—

כי יהיה להם דבר ובא אלי וישפטי בין איש ובין רעהו

And this kindly spirit was strengthened by the persecution of the Jews, which drew them together in closer bonds of sympathy. It was this oppression that preserved the purity of administration of the law and simplicity of Jewish procedure.

## II.

### ADMINISTRATORS AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW.

We have seen that among the early Romans Law and Religion were part of the same system; and the administration of the former, as of the latter, was in the hands of the priests. They are said to have established the *jus jurandum*, the oath, and the *sacramentum*, the stake deposited by litigants and forfeited by the losing party, and devoted to the purchase of sacrifices; to have substituted for death the milder penalty of banishment; and to have accepted purifications and offerings in lieu of punishment. These have their apparent equivalents in Jewish Law, but with notable and significant differences. Lev. v. 20–26; A.V. vi. 2–6: “If a soul sin, and commit a trespass against the Lord, and lie unto his neighbour in that which was delivered to him to keep, or in fellowship (*i.e.* partnership or agency), or in a thing taken away by violence, or hath deceived his neighbour; or have found that which was lost, and lieth concerning it, and sweareth . . . he shall restore that which he took violently away, or the thing which he has deceitfully gotten, or that which was delivered to him to keep, or the lost thing which



he found, or all that which he hath sworn falsely ; he shall even restore it in the principal, and shall add the fifth part more, and give it unto him to whom it appertaineth . . . and he shall bring his trespass offering to the Lord."

Here we apparently have sacrifice accepted as atonement for wrong. But it is to be observed *first* that the text speaks of a claim that cannot be enforced, where there was no proof and the allegation of wrong was met with a denial, and where, subsequently, the wrongdoer's conscience was stricken with remorse. *Secondly*, the sacrifice was not accepted till restitution had been made, with an additional fine of a fifth as *solatium* to the sufferer. In Judaism there was no compounding with conscience by an offering to God. There was not even the sacrifice of a ram for accidental homicide, as in early Roman Law (see XII tables). As in the Roman system till the end of the classical period, so in Judaism from the earliest time to the present day, oaths were not indiscriminately administered to all parties, but only where a *prima facie* case had been made out by *plaintiff* but the evidence was insufficient. In such a case the *defendant* had the alternative of taking an oath or paying, נשבע ונפטר. Another parallel is *sacratio*, the origin of *Interdictio aquae et ignis*. A man who removed his neighbour's landmark became a *homo sacer*, an outcast with whom it was pollution to associate. The exact parallel is furnished in the text, ארור מסיג גבול רעהו ; ארור connected with ארה, to pluck out. This is the germ of the weapon of excommunication in its milder or severer forms,<sup>1</sup> נדרי חרם שמתא=נחש.

Fides was deified in the ancient Roman Law. The Jewish Monotheist's reverence for Truth and Fidelity is expressed in the fine Talmudic metaphor, אמת חותמו של הק'ב"ה. To give the

<sup>1</sup> If a man repeatedly summoned to appear before the Beth Din is guilty of contumacy, he renders himself liable to this penalty, מנדין אותו, even as in English Law in misdemeanours, after various writs had proved ineffective, the accused is liable to outlawry (Harris, *Principles of Criminal Law*, 350, 351).

right hand was a pledge of faith (Livy, i. 21, 4 ; xxiii. 9, 3). To promise is etymologically derived from *promittere dextram*. Among the Jews, up to the present day, כף תקעה is as sacred as an oath.

And yet the Romans recognised that a bare promise established a moral claim, binding on the conscience, but not a legal claim enforceable at law. So, in Jewish Law, a man who withdrew from an uncompleted contract could not be kept to his promise, but a curse was solemnly pronounced against the word-breaker. (*Baba Mezia*, 44a, 49a): מי שפרע מדור המבול ומדור הפלגה הוא עתיד להפרע ממי שאינו עומד בדבריו, "He who exacted retribution from the godless generations who perished in the flood and were scattered after the attempt to build the Tower of Babel, will exact retribution from any one who does not abide by his promise."

So far the similarities on this point ; now for the contrasts.

The Roman pontiffs, with their tendency to formalism, rigidity, partiality for the patrician class to which they belonged, and jealousy of sharing their special knowledge with the common people, had the functions of jurisdiction wrested from their grasp. The mysteries of "lawful" and "unlawful" days on which actions could or could not take place, and the various forms of action, were soon disclosed, and Private Law, separated from Rules of Ritual, emerged as a secular system. In Judaism there was no such change. For there never had been a mystery about the Jewish Religion or its Jurisprudence ; neither had ever become the appanage of a class. The sons of Aaron had, indeed, been set apart for the special service of God and the ministry of His altar. The tribe of Levi was to furnish teachers of His people. But the whole congregation was holy—a kingdom of priests in whose midst was God. The Law Moses commanded was the heritage of the congregation of Jacob. Every one was called to wear

the diadem of the Torah. The foundations of learning were not sealed, but flowed abroad freely. From the beginning there prevailed a democratic spirit that demanded equal opportunities. Moses was assisted by seventy elders drawn from all the tribes. All the tribes furnished judges. "Among the children of Issachar there were men who had understanding of the times, to know what was to be done in Israel." Hence there was no occasion for a struggle to wrest from the priests a knowledge of legal forms, of *dies fasti et nefasti*. Hence there was no revolution of violent change, but a gradual evolution. The priests were left to the end undisturbed in possession of their hereditary functions, duties, privileges, honours, and emoluments. But the right of learning and teaching the Law they shared with the keen and active intellects in the rest of the nation. When critics speak of the antagonism between priest and prophet, it must always be remembered that the prophets' denunciations are hurled, not at the priestly caste or its special rights and obligations, but at the evil lives of some of the priests; that the fiercest denouncers of priestly vice were themselves priest-prophets—Jeremiah of Anathoth and Ezekiel ben Buzzi—and lastly, that the restorer of the Law was himself a priest, Ezra the Scribe.

Roman Law was liberalised by two causes. First, contact with—or rather, in some cases total, in others partial, subjugation of—other nations introduced the *Jus Gentium*, that in time gradually superseded the *Jus Civile*. Secondly, the scientific development of the Roman Law was fostered by the disappearance of liberty under the Emperors. "With the disappearance of liberty the art of public speaking had lost all power and influence. Yet the Romans had from the earliest times devoted themselves more to Law than to any other branch of public life, and it was, accordingly, in the study of Law that the highest and noblest intellects now engaged, and in which they found

the completest satisfaction of such aspirations as were still tolerated by the empire. . . . With them we get the first idea of a scientific knowledge of law. . . . Its favourable and symmetrical growth under their hands was due in no small degree to a peculiarity which is worthy of attention, namely, the theoretic scientific purpose of the work by which it was elaborated. At Rome the Jurists were not usually Judges, nor were the Judges usually Jurists; and hence it was not with strict reference only to an actual concrete case that a Jurist could make new law, but he could do it upon a hypothetical set of circumstances submitted to him by a pupil or any other person. Where data can be multiplied at pleasure, the facilities for evolving a general rule are immensely increased" (Moyle, *Introduction*).

The same remarks apply with absolutely literal truth to the impetus that loss of political independence gave to the study of the Torah. The destruction of the Second Temple was the signal for opening the schools—

משחרב בית המקדש אין לה'קב"ה בעולמו אלא ד' אמות של הלכה צמצם  
ה'קב"ה את שכינתו בתוך ד' אמות של הלכה.

All other avenues of distinction closed to them, nothing was left to the active intellects in the Jewish nation but the study of the Law.

In the well-known story of the three Rabbis, R. Jehuda, who discreetly praises Roman institutions, is rewarded with the favour of the Roman rulers. R. Simon b. Jochai disparages the Romans, and is sentenced to death, but escapes. R. José is silent, and the Romans mark their displeasure by banishing him. But whether concealed in a cave for thirteen years, or enjoying the friendship of the Antonines, the acknowledged leaders of the nation exercise their brains in study of the Law and its development. One is surprised at the imaginary and far-fetched hypothetical cases occasionally



met with in the Talmud, מהו קן צפור בראשו של אדם: מהו (Chulin, 139b); רגלו אחת בתוך התחום ורגלו אחת חוץ לתחום (Erubin, 52b). Similar hypotheses were the common exercises in the Roman schools. The enthusiasm for learning and teaching Law was common to the Romans and the Jews. Teaching of Law was gratuitous among the former as among the latter, מה אני בחנם אף אתם בחנם. As a result of the influence of stoicism, possibly also in consequence of the universal political enslavement, Jurisprudence became imbued with ethical ideas. It is sometimes regarded as a reproach that Ethics and Jurisprudence were not kept separate and distinct. But this saturation of Jurisprudence with ethical ideas is the glory of Roman Law in the classical period, as it is the glory of Jewish Jurisprudence. For what is it but an anticipation of the modern principle, "Where law and equity conflict, equity should prevail"? Still, while substantive law was liberalised and humanised, adjective law remains to the end clogged and hampered. In the period of the *legis actiones* the letter is looked to and not the spirit. In the formulary period this is somewhat mitigated. But the formulary system has to be abolished because of its complexity, its *aucepationes syllabarum insidiantes*. In the libellary period the judges appointed by the Emperors deal with the cases themselves. But there are written pleadings under this system. There are always heavy fees, fines, or costs to pay; at one period called *sacramentum*, at another *sponsio*, at a third *sportulac*. There is always the prospect of interminable appeals which threaten to ruin both parties, so that probably litigation was the luxury of the rich, and justice was not free. It is significant that if ethics has coloured substantive Roman Law it has left few traces in its procedure.

The Jewish system of adjective law is, and always was, of

<sup>1</sup> This case, it has been pointed out, is not an impossibility in India, where the *fakir* stands in a rigid attitude, immovably fixed to one spot for a long interval.



a freer character, less hampered with form, and imbued, like its substantive law, with the "generative spirit of equity."

Justice is free. *De minimis lex non curat* has no application. דין פרוטה כדן מאה. Every precaution is taken that there shall be no appearance or colour of partiality. Relatives must not act as judges, even as relationship is a disqualification in a witness. In Roman Law this was a disqualification in a will or conveyance by mancipation, but a son could preside as Praetor where his father was plaintiff or defendant. Personal interest in the subject of litigation disqualified the judge.

(*Baba Bathra*, 43): כל דבר שיש בו צד הנאה אינו יכול לדון עליו  
Judges are not to decide according to *jus strictum*.

(*Ch. M.* xii. 20):

צריכין הדיינים להתרחק בכל היכולת שלא יקבלו עליהם לדון דין תורה.  
Pleadings need not be in writing—

(*Ch. M.* xiii. 3):

אין כופין את האדם ליתן טענותיו בכתב ואין לדיין לקבל טענות בכתב אלא  
ישמעו טענותיהם מפיהם ויצוו לסופר לכתבם.

All evidence must in the first instance be given orally. This is an anticipation of Austin's idea of ideal procedure. Costs are not enforced unless the successful litigant has been put to unnecessary expense, *e.g.* by being compelled to go to another town to plead, or in case of contumacy of the losing party.

(*Ch. M.* xiv. 5):

המתחייב בדין אינו חייב לשלם לכשנגדו יציאותיו א'ע'ב שהוקיקו לדון לעיר אחרת  
והני מילי דלא מסרב למיקם לדינא.

Procedure is direct and inexpensive.

Then there is the etiquette of precedence in procedure. The orphan's case must be taken before all others. The widow's case comes next, for it is said, "Judge the orphan, champion the widow." The scholar comes next, so that he

may return to his studies. And the Rabbis are gallant, for if a woman has a case she should be heard before a mere man.

The arguments of one party must not be heard in the absence of the other. In early Roman Law judgment went by default (see XII tables). The decision is pronounced in the name of the court, not of individual judges. There were no dissenting judgments. Differences of view among the members of the court must not be published. For the Jewish court is a quasi jury. Hence if one withdraws no decision can be given. But it is a jury of judges, and therefore an opinion without a reason is not accepted. The above salient rules excerpted from the *ה' דיינים* will give some indication of the character of procedure in Jewish Law. The rules as formulated are comparatively modern, but their roots are in ancient tradition as enshrined in the Talmud. They reflect the free democratic spirit of the Jewish nation and the spirit of Judaism. Jewish adjective law in contradistinction to Roman procedure is a free and voluntary system, permeated from the beginning with equity and fairness, saturated with the ethical spirit. Its history exhibits no violent breach of continuity. The changes are gradual and imperceptible. It is not the monopoly of a class. It was not imposed from without by a political force. Its representatives and administrators are drawn from the people. Its sanction is the goodwill of the people. Its motto is *צדק צדק תרדוק למען תחיה*, "Justice, justice shalt thou pursue that thou mayest live." Its ideal is summed up in the Psalmist's exhortation to a poor and persecuted people—

*"Defend the poor and fatherless :  
Do justice to the afflicted and needy."*

*שפטו דל ויתום עני ורש הצדיקו פלטו דל ואביון מיד רשעים הצילו*  
(Ps. lxxxii. 3, 4).

# THE INTRODUCTION TO THE "ROKEACH."

BY THE REV. MORRIS JOSEPH.

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The *Rokeach* was written about seven hundred years ago by R. Eleazar ben Jehudah ben Kalonymos of Worms. He was the author of some thirty works ; but this is the only one of them that has achieved general fame. And this happy position it owes to its fine Introduction.

And first a preliminary word as to the title of the book. The Hebrew word *Rokeach* means the "Perfumer," and it is borrowed from the passage in the thirtieth chapter of Exodus, which contains a prescription for a holy oil or ointment, compounded of sweet-smelling spices, after the art of the perfumer, which was to be used for anointing the Tabernacle and its furniture, and so making them fragrant. In choosing this word as his title, the author tells us that he was influenced by the fact that the numerical value of its letters and that of his own name, "Eleazar," are identical. But it is permissible to believe that more valid considerations determined its choice. It was intended, surely, to designate the character of the work. The book was indeed to be a perfumer—it was to impart to the daily life of the reader the fragrance of religion. Nay, to venture one step further, just as the holy anointing oil scented the lowliest vessels of the sanctuary, so the goodly directions of the book might help to sweeten and glorify the humblest life.

As to the author, very little is known of him. He was born at some uncertain date in the second half of the twelfth century, and is said to have died in the second quarter of the thirteenth.<sup>1</sup> He is known to have taken part in the Rabbinical Synod at Mainz in 1223, a fact that shows him to have been a man of importance among the Jews of his time. He was a disciple of the great R. Jehudah Chasid of Regensburg, the author of that renowned ethical-religious treatise, the *Sepher Chasidim*, the "Book of the Pious." From this great soul, in whom, according to Zunz, were united the poet, the moralist, and the religious enthusiast, Eleazar drew not a little of his inspiration. A Talmudist, who found his life's occupation, after the fashion of the age, in expounding the Rabbinical Fathers to a select band of pupils, he had still a quick sympathy for what in these days we should call the Higher Judaism. He was certainly no formalist, nor was the Talmud for him a mere place of exercise for the display of intellectual agility. Imbued with all the characteristic love of the medieval Jew for the minute prescriptions of the Rabbins, he was still a high-souled man, who set goodness above outward conformity, and religion above ceremonial, a man consumed by a passion for righteousness, alternately overwhelmed and uplifted by a consciousness of the Divine. That his spiritual fervour at times manifested itself in exaggerated and even grotesque forms is not to be denied. He was the author, not only of this book of ours—this *Rokeach*, which (the Introduction more especially) is characterised by a pure and exalted morality and by mighty, yet sane, yearnings after the living God—not only of Talmudic

<sup>1</sup> Usually styled Eleazar of Worms, because he lived, laboured, and died there, he was probably born at Mainz, where his father was Rabbi, and where he was an eye-witness of fanatical outbreaks against the Jews in 1187 and 1188. He left an account of these events, which has recently been published by the *Historische Commission für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* (vol. ii., Berlin 1892).

and liturgical contributions of greater or less value, but of works like *The Book of Angels*, which depict the world as the playground of countless spirits, both good and evil. He was a mystic, a votary of the Kabbala—that notorious system of Jewish theosophy, as notable as it is notorious—and even this book of ours is by no means free from mysticism. When we add that his religion not infrequently degenerated into superstition, we have exhausted the catalogue of his shortcomings. And truly the list is far less formidable than it seems. His superstition he shared with his contemporaries, both Jewish and Gentile. The twelfth century, when the most absurd ideas found ready credence everywhere, when “sorcery and astrology and alchemy had sway over the ignorant crowd, and were enthroned even in the courts of kings,”<sup>1</sup> is not an age to which we are accustomed to look for examples of religious philosophy carried on in the pellucid atmosphere of reason—though there were not wanting Jews to supply them—or for instances of that calm and sober spirituality which is so familiar a phenomenon in these days. Eleazar of Worms was, after all, only the child of his age; and, like all strong natures, he had the defects of his qualities. The description given of Spinoza might well have been applied to him. He was “a God-intoxicated” man; but, unlike Spinoza, his enthusiasm for the Divine carried him into regions to which the spirit alone, and not the intellect, holds the key. His thirst for God made him a Kabbalist, a mystic. To say this is, for some minds, to condemn him out-of-hand. “A mere obscurantist!” they cry, and pass on. But the Kabbala, seen in its true perspective, stripped of its grotesque accretions, its gross portraiture of God, its monstrous angelology, its charms and spells and wonder-working, deserves to take high rank in literature as a store-house of spiritual

<sup>1</sup> Theodore Reinach, *Histoire des Israelites*, p. 127.



treasures. And as for mysticism, that sense of the nearness of the Supreme, which, as Holy Writ hath it,<sup>1</sup> is so good, the partaking of the Divine life and activity, the possession of God as well as possession by Him—what is this but the highest effort of the human soul? Eliminate the mysticism from the Psalms and you rob them of their nameless charm. Expel it from the Prayer-Book and the devotional fabric falls to pieces. “We have lost the mystical sense,” cries Amiel, the philosopher,<sup>2</sup> “and what is religion without mysticism?—a rose without perfume!”

No; we owe not condemnation, but gratitude, to these medieval Jewish enthusiasts, who, at a time when Judaism was in danger of degenerating into a barren system of scholastic disputation, or of evaporating altogether in a mist of mere intellectualism, breathed into it the breath of spiritual life. Deride mysticism as we may, it is the one potent impulse to obedience. Goodness has for its chief source, its mightiest safeguard, the realisation of God. Our book, the *Rokeach*, is an illustration of this truth, as other great religious works from old Jewish pens, such as the *Sepher Chasidim* and the *Choboth Halebaboth*, and the *Reshith Chochmah* are illustrations in their turn. The *Rokeach* is the production of a spiritual-minded Talmudist—a wondrous combination, we may think—one that some persons would *ex cathedra* pronounce impossible. That fact in itself is sufficient to make the book interesting. It shows—though scores of other Jewish works could be named that prove the same thing—that the old-fashioned Talmudic Jew did know what “inwardness” meant, could aspire after the saintly life.

For the book itself is ostensibly nothing more than a compendium of the Rabbinical law; it was intended to mould

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxiii. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Intime*, 17th March 1861.

Jewish life after the Talmudic pattern, to serve as a guide to the Israelite when in doubt as to the *Din*. "Every man his own Rabbi" might have been its title. But even the legalistic prescriptions which the author thus codifies are so treated as here and there to betray the touch of a fine spirit.

It is not, however, with the body of the work, but with the Introduction, that I am chiefly concerned. To this digest of the Talmudic enactments the author has prefixed some chapters on religion and morals, which have made the book's literary fortune. The section on Penitence, for example, has been printed many times, either as a separate tract or as an adjunct to some other religious work. But for these introductory chapters the *Rokeach* would probably have been forgotten; there would have been nothing to distinguish it from the other manuals of Talmudic Judaism which the medieval Rabbins produced in such profusion.

Now the fact that such a book should have had such an Introduction is sufficiently striking. What acts come within the legal definition of work on Sabbath, what constitutes a Kosher *lulab*, what makes a *Succah* technically unfit for use, what is to be done with meal that has been boiled without having been salted and with the vessel in which it has been cooked, how one is to act who suddenly remembers that he has not said grace after a meal—these are typical examples of the topics treated of by the work itself. "How childish!" some of us may exclaim; "the man who busied himself with such superfluous *minutiæ*, and fancied he was treating of religion, must have had a very narrow mind, a very stunted soul. There could not have been much spirituality about him." And yet here are these introductory chapters, breathing the most passionate desire for communion with God, the most intense love for men, to prove us utterly wrong. It is a curious and an instructive phenomenon—

though by no means an isolated one. It was no unusual occurrence in olden times for a codifier of the Talmudic legislation to preface his work with a string of exalted religious or moral teachings which any modern writer might be proud to claim as his own. Maimonides did it; even the author of the *Shulchan Aruch*, whom every one cites as the typical Jewish formalist, did it. Does not the fact show that these men were far from being the arid spirits they are commonly supposed to be; that their religion was anything but a mere system of routine? Their scrupulosity was excessive, no doubt; they ascribed an utterly exaggerated importance to ceremonial acts that seem to some of us of minor value, or entirely without value; they used narrow, legalistic standards by which to distinguish between right and wrong in religion. But they engaged in those ceremonial acts in no Pharisaic spirit; and there was a yet higher right and wrong which transcended for them obedience or disobedience to mere ritual precepts. They found a deep and never-fading satisfaction in outward conformity, in reciting the *Shemang* at the prescribed hour, in not exceeding by an inch the Sabbath day's journey, in banishing every visible crumb of leaven from their houses on the eve of Passover; but they never forgot the far weightier matters of the law—justice, and mercy, and truth, and purity—nor failed to look to them for their supreme joy, for the real elements of the higher life.

And so it has come about that we find these men introducing their exposition of the dull, dry details of the Talmudic legislation with pious exhortations to sincerity in prayer, to energy in the service of God, or with miniature treatises on practical religion. These Introductions throw a flood of light upon the formal and elaborate ordinances that follow them. They testify to the noble music that dwells like an undertone beneath the frequent discord of those hundreds of seemingly

sterile pages. They prove that these old-world Jews were not mummies, but living men after all, with hearts flung open to receive the higher commands of God, with souls responsive to every thrill of His holy Spirit. The mere letter of their writings may often jar upon us ; but we cannot withhold our homage from the true spiritual fervour that leaps from them to the sensitive eye.

So much, then, by way of preface to what is itself but a preface, and yet, as we have seen, something more. But there is yet another word to be said. If we are to understand this famous production, and rightly appraise it, we must remember the time in which it was written, nor forget one tragic incident that has been preserved in the scanty record of the author's life. The book dates from a period when morals in Europe generally were at a low ebb, and religion was being parodied, rather than enacted. It was the age of the Crusades, that incarnate blasphemy—the age when the pious attempt of Christendom to rescue from the infidel the tomb of its Redeemer was degraded to an opportunity for acts of fiendish outrage and cruel bloodshed. Amid this religious and moral upheaval our author lived—and wrote calmly about the joy of serving God and the duty of blessing men. It is a strange spectacle ! But its wondrousness is thus far only half told. This quiet, gentle Rabbi lived in a city on the Rhine, on the very line of march of the fanatical, marauding Crusaders, and their desolating progress heaped ruin and anguish not only upon his neighbours, but upon himself and his household. On a fatal day in November 1196, the soldiers of the Cross burst into his house as he was engaged in writing his Commentary on Genesis, plundered it of its contents, cruelly maltreated his wife, and then murdered her and their children. The Rabbi alone escaped with bare life. A tragedy such as this must have cast a



shadow upon his heart until his last day. With its awful memory like a spectre ever before him, it would have been no marvel if he had lost his enthusiasm for God, his ardour for righteousness, his strong desire to be just and forgiving even to his enemies. And yet it was not so, as this book proves. When the Introduction was written we know not. If after this overwhelming calamity, the moral and spiritual fervour that nerved him to write it was well-nigh miraculous; if before, then only one degree less wonderful is the strength with which he resisted the temptation to destroy it, or at least to cancel some of its sweetest and noblest passages. But no! "Forgive them that speak ill of thee; avenge not thyself upon him that injures thee"—so he enjoins his readers. It is an impressive spectacle! The soldiers of the Cross, wearers of the badge of the "Religion of Love," ruin this Jew's life, and he retaliates by preaching forgiveness. Yes, it is an impressive phenomenon, but it is an epitome of the life-story of Israel!

And now let us try to get a more exact idea of the contents of this Introduction, written as it was at such a time, and under such conditions. Viewed in its outward form, it may be described as a collection of maxims thrown together without much regard to order or subject. The questions it treats of are, broadly, two: Religion and Morals. Let us see what the author has to say about each of them.

One of the most striking ideas in his theology—one that may properly engage our attention first, seeing that it is the foundation of his entire religious and ethical edifice—is the conception of an ever-present, indwelling, immanent God. "Know that the Holy One is within thee," he cries. It is no far-off Deity that he preaches, a Deity that dwells remote from human affairs and needs and sorrows; nor even a transcendental God, who, though He does take cognisance of



men's lives, is still in a measure severed from them by a barrier as impassable as it is indefinable. "*Est Deus in nobis*," this Jewish sage exclaims with the old Christian fathers—"God is within us"; and not God merely, but the "Holy One"—a fruitful thought, the germ of which is to be found in the Pentateuch itself. Yes, not God merely—stern, severe, rigorously just, awe-compelling—but the Holy One, whose holiness is an everlasting challenge, an inexhaustible inspiration to human purity. This Holy One is in mortals, is part of their very selves; and therefore man cannot sin without offering affront to that indwelling Deity; he cannot even think of sinning without blaspheming Him. "Every base thought is a profanation of the Name," says this old-world Rabbi. "Know that the Holy One is within thee; therefore," he continues, "let thy life be one of holiness and self-denial. The very mention of God's awful name should make all thy limbs to tremble. Fix thy mind upon the Almighty when thou standest before Him in prayer, and should some alien thought come to thee in thy devotions, be silent until thy heart is joined once more in reverence to thy Creator. Say to thyself whilst thou prayest, 'How honoured am I in being suffered to offer a crown to the King of Glory!—I who am but clay; I will rend the bonds of my heart, and in awe and humility will I enter the divine gates.' For," adds the author, echoing the Talmudic Rabbins, "the tokens of God's graciousness are for ever to be discerned side by side with the signs of His majesty, as it is written, 'I dwell with the high and holy, but also with the contrite and lowly of spirit.' Therefore think reverently on God while the breath of life is still within thee; for 'His eyes run to and fro throughout the whole earth.'"

But though the Supreme is so majestic, He still has an ear for the supplications of His earthly children. He is unknow-

able; no eye has seen Him—"neither prophet nor seraph"—and yet "He is near to all that call upon Him. All His creatures who, knowing each of them the plague of his own heart, come to Him in prayer, He will hear and answer."

At once beautiful and significant is the author's ideal of prayer. "Ask God," he says, "to forgive thy trespasses, to implant the love and fear of Him in thy heart, so that thou mayst serve Him in joy; invoke His mercy upon thyself and thy beloved, so that none of you may fall into the power of sin." A remarkable utterance, showing that the medieval Jew could offer spontaneous supplications, which no liturgy contained, and which welled up from his heart, and that in those supplications he could forbear to ask for riches, or honour, or length of days, and beg only for the joy of service and the power to serve.

And this God, the sense of whose proximity is to be the impulse of the religious life, is not to be approached in an abject fear. He is to be loved. "And now, my son"—thus the author pleads with his reader—"hearken to my voice; love the Lord thy God. Set thy heart to know Him, and to declare His unity. Do thy work until eventide; but remember to love Him at *all* times. See, He stands before thee! He is thy Father, thy Master, thy Maker; submit thyself to Him. Ah, happy is he whose heart trembleth with the joy of God, and is for ever singing to its Maker! He bears patiently the divine yoke; he is humble and self-denying; he scorns the world's vain pleasures; he lives by his faith; he has gentle speech for all; he rejoices in the joys of others; he loves his neighbour, and does charity in secret." And thus the religious sentiment comes to the aid of the moral sense. The persuasion of the reality and the nearness of the Divine ripens and blossoms into noble deeds done for humanity.

I spoke just now of the author's insistence upon the love of God as the guiding principle of the religious life. In a striking picture of the ideal man, he says that his thoughts are as a mass of heated metal glowing with the fire of this love—a wonderful utterance, whether judged from the literary or the religious standpoint.

But there is such a thing as the fear of God as well as the love of Him. Our author does not forget the fact, but his conception of this wholesome fear is characteristic. It is not a dread of the Hand uplifted to strike, not the groveling terror of the slave, not the awe-stricken prescience of coming woe. The right fear of God, we are told, is the fear of *sin*, the sinner's fear of himself, such as becomes one who is not the slave but the child of God. "At the root of the fear of the Almighty," the author reminds us, "is the sombre sense of the difficulty of conquering temptation; the man fears that he may not be perfect in the sight of his heavenly Father." As for the divine chastisements—these, in accordance with the Talmudic theory, are to be received with resignation, welcomed even, as purifying agents, as pledges of the divine love. "If a man has sinned, let him repent with all his might, pray earnestly for pardon, and go and sin no more; and then, if trials come upon him, let him greet them with joy." A notable utterance! The man has repented, but he is not on that account to expect impunity. He may still have to expiate his transgression in suffering, and the glad submission with which he receives the divine chastisements is to be part of the penance, the crown of his atonement.

And this exalted joy is, for the author, the one desirable thing—the *summum bonum*. As with all the mystics, a strong vein of asceticism runs through his teachings. Worldly delights are to be shunned; they are vanity and

vexation of spirit. But this is a Jewish mystic, and the luxury of woe, sorrow for its own sake, is a conception that makes no appeal to him. The service of God is to fill the soul with light, not enshroud it in gloom. The "religion of sorrow" is not the religion of Israel. "If there be grief in thy heart," the author enjoins his reader, "put it away from thee at prayer-time; for when thou standest before the great King, it is of thy love for Him, and not of thy troubles, that thou hast to think." Worship is to neutralise every disquieting influence, and to flood the spirit with joy. It is to be not petition so much as communion. In scathing words he denounces "the sinners who sit in the House of God like dumb mourners, forbearing to sing to the Lord of Hosts." Not that he is insufficiently impressed with the awfulness of sin. The very contrary is the case, as we have just seen. A whole series of self-imposed penances are prescribed for various kinds of offenders, and God's chastisements are to complete them. "How am I to give back my soul to God pure as He gave it to me?"—this is the haunting thought of the truly penitent. And so "let him weep for his offences, shedding not physical tears only, but the tears of his heart."

But sorrow is only justified by a consciousness of *sin*. The normal condition of the good man is one of gladness, born of the sense of union with the Highest through obedience. And this is the only desirable happiness. The pleasures of the world are hollow and deceptive. Renunciation is the keynote of the true, the joyous life. "Desire not greatness; love lowliness; trust thy Maker; die for love of Him. When evil passions are about to prevail over thee, and would make thee rebel against the King of Glory, say to thyself, 'In a time of persecution it would behove me to suffer cheerfully for God's sake, whom I am bound to love even unto death; how much more readily, then, shall I



mortify this carnal desire, which would seduce me from the path of duty, and condemn me in the eyes of my fellow-men !' " Observe the confident assumption that martyrdom for the faith is the accepted obligation of every Jew. To die rather than apostatise was, for the pious Israelite of the Middle Ages, one of the most elementary of duties. And the calmness with which that supreme act of devotion was regarded is all the more notable, seeing that the summons to perform it might come at any moment. The lips which one day declared, "I will die for my God," might the very next day be uttering the triumphant death-cry of the *Shemang* on the rack or at the stake.

Thus much, then, as to our author's religious teachings. Let us pass now to his ethics—a subject of absorbing interest. It is of the greatest moment to know what was the conception of goodness formed by the medieval Jew—of the Jew who saw his brethren plundered, maltreated, and slain before his very eyes—nay, who had to endure these outrages in his own person, or to see them perpetrated on the persons of his beloved. What effect did persecution exert upon Jewish morals? Did it sear the heart of Israel, leaving its traces in feelings of hatred and revenge towards the oppressor? Or was this one of the cases in which the prophetic promise was fulfilled: "When thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee"? The answer is that neither alternative represents the actual truth. The results lay midway between the two extremes. That the iron did enter into the soul of suffering Israel is only what might have been expected. It would have been a miracle had he passed unharmed through so terrible an ordeal. But, on the other hand, the demoralising effects of his cruel wrongs were surprisingly limited. An abiding resentment against the oppressor, distrust and



suspicion of Christendom, which had so foully injured him, a settled dislike of the world, the building of a moral Ghetto to match the physical one to which his enemies had consigned him—yes. But the translation of his resentment into acts of vengeance, the regarding of the Christian as the rightful object of malevolence and deceit and oppression—in a word, retaliation—no. And this marvellous phenomenon was due solely to the chastening influence of Israel's religion. It was Jewish theology that saved Jewish morals. The Jew may have hated his Christian persecutor; but his Law, so often denounced as narrow and sterile, forbade him to indulge the feeling. As a modern Jewish historian acutely points out,<sup>1</sup> while the Christian oppressed the Jew because he deemed the act pleasing to God, the Jew was deterred by the fear of God's disapproval from revenging himself upon the Christian. To wrong a Gentile in the smallest particular was to desecrate the divine Name. The medieval Jewish moralists enforce the lesson upon their readers again and again.

And apart from this, the general tone of Jewish morality was scarcely, if at all, lowered by persecution. The proofs are to be discerned in this tract of ours among many other writings of its class. The Jewish character emerged from the crucible of persecution comparatively unscathed. Gentleness and humility, a love of peace, a passion for truthfulness and right and justice—such are the distinguishing notes of this little treatise. Never does the faintest tinge of moroseness or cynicism or misanthropy mar the beauty of its loving doctrine.

“Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,  
To silence envious tongues. Be just and fear not”—

Wolsey's advice to Cromwell is an epitome of our author's moral teaching. Not one drop of gall mingles with his sweet

<sup>1</sup> Güdemann: *Culturgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 150.

counsels. And this man was a typical Jew of his age—typical by reason both of his training and his experiences. He was a Rabbi, a Talmudist, and the cruel ploughshare of persecution had passed over his life. But his doctrine remains sweet and wholesome to the end.

It is time, however, to descend to details. The roots of conduct, moral as well as religious, our author sets in that most fruitful soil, the God-idea. Because God lives and reigns, because He has communicated His will to mortals, and jealously watches over its execution, man must be wholly loyal to duty. Moreover, God is near at hand, immanent in every life; therefore evil must be eschewed as an insult to that pure Presence. And so it follows, not only that goodness is the supreme good, worthy of every sacrifice, but that goodness must be ingrained. It must possess and dominate the entire man. The ideal Israelite will be virtuous to the core. He will shrink from doing wrong secretly; he will shrink from doing wrong even in little things. Thus, he will be honest in regard even to sums of less than a farthing, sums that are too trifling for a human tribunal to take cognizance of; he will avoid evil acts, such as putting his neighbour to shame, or hurting him with unkind words, that no human tribunal will punish. He will be pure and modest in his inmost chamber, for above him is the All-seeing Eye. He will avoid even the *meditation* of evil; he will not dally with sin even in thought; he will harbour no foul image in his mind; for God sees the heart. He will refrain from acts that are only doubtfully sinful, to the end that he may the better resist the temptation to acts that are certainly sinful.

And here the author leads up to a Talmudic principle which he is fond of enforcing. It is set forth in the formula, קדש עצמך במותר לך, "Sanctify thyself through the things that

are permitted to thee." "Go," he says to his reader, "go beyond the mere letter of duty, and not content with avoiding what is clearly illicit, deny thyself something of what is allowed; for so thou shalt sanctify thy life, and make it a holy service of God." And thus the famous "fence," which the Rabbins erected around the religious citadel, is extended into the moral domain. Human restrictions, voluntary, self-imposed, are to keep the divine precepts safe from violation. It is an austere principle, no doubt, foreign to the temper of our age; but it is a noble principle, and one that must be taken into account if we are to understand the morality of a bygone day.

Closely akin to this ascetic idea is the humility which our author preaches so persistently. It is strange to think how this virtue seems to have drawn its very sustenance from persecution. In proportion as the blows of a cruel world fell more heavily and thickly upon the Jew, so his lowliness increased. It was not only Judaism, but Jewish morality, that was nurtured by Israel's sufferings. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church"—yes; but, in the case of the Jew, it is the seed of certain sweet virtues also. A class of teachers, specifically known as Chasidim, "pious ones" or "saints," not to be confounded with the Jewish sect of the same name still existing in Poland and elsewhere, purposely set themselves to inculcate a finer patience, a greater gentleness, in return for ever-accumulating sorrows.<sup>1</sup> That was their revenge upon their persecutors; and surely no unworthy one! It may seem to some of us, perhaps, that the virtue of non-resistance was carried a little too far, and that a more masculine note would have been both natural and fitting. But be that as it may, here is a phenomenon that is of the deepest import for the comparative

<sup>1</sup> See Güdemann: *Culturgeschichte*, vol. i. p. 175.

study of religion. Against the precept in the Gospels, "I say unto thee, Resist not evil," characteristically Christian as it is usually thought to be, let us set these injunctions to passive endurance of insult and outrage, which the medieval Jew learnt, and not only learnt, but practised. "The ideal Israelite," says our author, "will be humble, as beseems the servant of God, and especially as beseems the Jew, whose people bear the divine Name. If he is wronged, he will not retaliate; if one speaks falsely of him, he will not be angry with his traducer. He will only be silent, and endure." "The saintly life," adds our Rabbi, "is a martyrdom; it is hard as death. He who would lead it must give his heart's blood for it."

Another great virtue—fidelity to truth—all the medieval writers are at one in vigorously enforcing. This is a duty which admits of no limitation. It is to be performed towards Gentile as well as Jew. "The true Israelite," our author says, "will deceive no man; not only will he not rob or defraud him, he will not mislead him. He will speak the truth in his heart; he will suffer no false word to be uttered in his presence." Nor is the tendency to over-righteousness, which we noted a moment ago, always discernible. The ideal man, we are told, will be moderate—moderate "in his spending, in his drinking, in his anger, in his laughter." The ascetic note is clearly tempered by wisdom. The good man will set bounds to his indulgence; but he will not deny himself altogether. He will neither be a miser nor a teetotalter; and there is a time to laugh, and even a time to be angry.

Of the author's insistence upon the duty of forgiveness I have already spoken more than once. His treatment of this subject is characteristic of his school. When wronged by another, the good man will try to think that he has brought

the injury upon himself by his own shortcomings, and so he will forgive his enemy. But the performance of this duty does not absolve him from the obligation of rousing the offender to a sense of his transgression. With kindly words he will reprove his erring neighbour, and so, in the author's phrase, "lead him gently heavenwards." United to this peaceful attitude in the ideal Jew is a perfect purity of life. He flies fast and far from the illicit joys of the senses. "The worst sin is impurity; the worst enemy shameful desire." Not the least striking of the utterances in this Introduction is its warning against a morality that is merely conventional, against the superficial righteousness that is content to take its tone from the world's shifting conceptions. "The true servant of God does not shun wrong-doing from fear of the judgment of men, because he has a regard for his own good name, but only because it is wrong. He shrinks from it even when it would involve him in no loss of reputation, when evil-doing is condoned by public opinion and general practice."

Very emphatic are the author's denunciations of such familiar sins as pride and insincerity, slander and hatred and jealousy, which are scarcely recognised as sins in our latter-day moral code. "There is nothing so hateful as pride, nothing so evil as an evil tongue. The worst abomination is insincere speech. Put hatred far from thy heart, for it is the ruin of happiness; it banishes sleep, and robs the very food we eat of its savour. Envy no man aught except his virtues. If thou meet a wise man, acknowledge that he is thy superior, and let his wisdom spur thee to get knowledge in thy turn. If thou meet an inferior, treat him with courtesy. If thou art poor, accustom thyself to think that thy poverty has been given to thee as a blessed discipline, as the instrument of thy ennoblement. Remember



that thou hast to be grateful for thy very breath. If thou art rich, exalt not thyself over thy poor brother. Who knoweth? one day thou mayst become poor like him. Nay, both of you came naked into the world, and the grave is prepared for both."

Finally, the author weaves together a string of negative maxims which contain the essence of his doctrine in a pithy form. Here are a few specimens: "Lend not thy ear to the promptings of base desire. Say not, 'I will sin and repent.' Withhold not good from them to whom it is due. Swear not at all—even to the truth. Let not thy heart be lifted up in pride. Nourish no guile in thy breast; speak no frivolous word; imagine no evil against thy neighbour; quarrel with no man; desist not from listening to reproof. Strive not to be rich. Close not thy doors against charity; oppress not the poor." To which I add just one affirmative precept: "Labour to sow peace among thy fellow-men."

Here we must take leave of this notable production. Written many centuries ago, it teaches lessons that will retain their worth while humanity endures. Medieval in form, its spirit transcends the limits of time, and mirrors the thoughts and the yearnings of the great souls of every age. The work of a Jewish Rabbi, it witnesses to a saintliness of life and a longing for communion with the Highest that recall in another religious literature a Thomas à Kempis and an Augustine. Written at the period of Israel's agony, born, perhaps, of the travail of the stricken author himself, it breathes a peace and good-will to all men, upon whose music no harsh note ever obtrudes. It is not for this typical Israelite to resent his own wrongs or the woes of his race. To suffer, to die, in God's cause is his duty, his glory. With Jehudah Halevi<sup>1</sup> he might have cried, "Men

<sup>1</sup> *Divan*, poem xii.

revile me ; they know not that shame endured for Thy glorious Name, O God, is nought but honour." For those who have ruined his life, he has no word of imprecation or bitterness. For all his fellow-men he bears in his heart only justice and gentleness and love.

## ON SOME UNPUBLISHED POEMS OF SALOMO IBN GABIROL.

BY REV. HARRIS M. LAZARUS, B.A.

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The MS. forming the subject of this short paper is kept in the library of Jews' College in London. It formerly belonged to the famous savant and collector of Hebrew MSS., S. H. Halberstamm (שה"ה). This MS., which formerly bore the name of its owner (*Codex Halberstamm*, 318), is now bearing the new title of *Codex 362, Jews' College*.

It is a private MS. bearing no date, but may be placed somewhere about the fifteenth century. It is written in a very neat, yet difficult, cursive Spanish handwriting, and is evidently the work of a careful and skilful scribe. This same MS. contains many literary compositions (poems) by various authors and of various times. The full contents can be found in Dr. H. Hirschfeld's new Catalogue of the MSS. of Jews' College. All the poems contained in our MS. are written in one and the same hand, leading one to suppose that the scribe had copied the various compositions, at different times, from various sources, for his own private use. Another support to this supposition may be found in the fact that while the colour of the ink is sometimes different, the handwriting is the same throughout. It contains sixteen poems, which are ascribed, in the headings, to Solomon ibn Gabirol. The authority of the MS., however, is not unquestionable, as will readily be seen both from internal and external evidence.

Some of these poems have already been published from other MSS. Of these I shall only give the headings and

the place where published. While others, which either offer important variant readings, or have not yet been published at all, I shall produce here.

The first of the poems ascribed to Ibn Gabirol was already printed by Dukes in his *שירי שלמה*, p. 42. But, as our MS. offers some interesting variant readings, I shall reproduce it:—

MS. p. 42.

<p>יְבָרֵךְ לְחַבְצֶקֶת עֲמָקִים יְבִיאֶהוּ<sup>3</sup> לְבֶשֶׁר הַבְּרִיקִים<sup>4</sup> וְהַעֲבִים יִלְדֶּיהָ<sup>5</sup> מִנִּיקִים<sup>6</sup></p>	<p>יְשָׁלֵם<sup>1</sup> הַפֶּתִיּוֹ נִדְרֵי וְיָקִים וְיוֹם קֵיץ לִיד<sup>2</sup> חֹרֶף מִצְפָּה אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵד בְּלִי עֶצֶב אֲדָמָה</p>
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MS. p. 42b.

<p>לְחַיִּיה אֲשֶׁר הִיוּ<sup>9</sup> חֲזָקִים וְשֵׁנִי שְׁבָצוֹם<sup>12</sup> עֲבִי שְׁחָקִים וְנִבְיָהֶם כְּנָבִי הִירָקִים<sup>13</sup> לְהַתְּפָאֵר עָלֵי יוֹנִי<sup>14</sup> אֲפִיקִים תְּדַמָּה פַעֲמִיָּה<sup>16</sup> כְּאֻזִּיקִים יִכְסוּ צֹארוֹנִיָּהֶם עֲנָקִים וְאִם תּוֹכֵל לְהִשְׁפִּיל<sup>17</sup> הַשְׁחָקִים כְּמוֹ סֶלַע עֲדֵי שְׁמָתוֹ נִקִּיקִים וְדַבְּרֵי תוֹאֲנָה דָקִים<sup>19</sup> וְרִיקִים וּמִגִּינֵי נְעוּרֵינוּ אֲפִיקִים וְכִסּוֹ הַשְׁחָקִים בְּאֲבָקִים עָלֵי מִזְבֵּחַ אֱלֹהֶיךָ נְתוּקִים<sup>21</sup> (1) וְהִימָמִים יְקוֹמֹן מַחֲלָקִים דְּלָה מִלֵּב אֲנוּשׁ מִיָּם עֲמוּקִים</p>	<p>רָאָה כִּי שְׁחָקָה<sup>7</sup> תֵּבֵל וְרָבּוּ<sup>8</sup> וְכִסּוֹ בְּעֶרְבוֹת<sup>10</sup> כְּתָנוֹת חוֹר<sup>11</sup> וּמִרְאִיהֶן כְּמִרְאָה הַכְּתָמִים וְקָם הַתּוֹר וְהַעֲנֹר וְהַסִּים וְעַתָּה כִּי יִתְּנוּ רֵאשִׁים לְקַפֵּץ<sup>15</sup> בְּהַגְלֹת הַדֶּר שֶׁמֶשׁ עָלֵיהֶם אֲמֹר אַתָּה הַיּוֹכֵל אֹר לְכִסּוֹת הֲלֹא דִּי כִּי תִשְׁנֶה לְבַךְ<sup>18</sup> לִי וְאִיכָּה תוֹאֲנָה עָלֵי תִבְקִישׁ וְאִיךְ תִּזְרוֹק רִמְחֶיךָ לְנִגְדִי וְסוֹסֵינוּ יִירוּן<sup>21</sup> (2) בְּסֻלְעִים וְאִיךְ תִּבְזֶה<sup>22</sup> כְּעֵט מוֹרִיב וְתִקְרִיב<sup>23</sup> וְהַשְׁנִים יְקוֹמֹן מַחֲרָשִׁים וְאִם אַתָּה בְּרֹאשׁ אֲנִשִּׁי לְבָבוֹת<sup>25</sup></p>
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<sup>1</sup> Dukes, יִשְׁלֵם, which cannot be right by metre.

<sup>2</sup> Dukes, לְיוֹם חוֹרֶף, but *cp.* 1 Sam. iv. 13, יִד דֶּרֶךְ מִצְפָּה.

<sup>3</sup> Dukes, יְבִיאֶהוּ.

<sup>4</sup> Dukes, הַבְּרִיקִים.

<sup>5</sup> Dukes, לִיד.

<sup>6</sup> Dukes, מִנִּיקִים.

<sup>7</sup> Dukes, שְׁחָקָה.

<sup>8</sup> Dukes, וְרָבּוּ.

<sup>9</sup> Dukes, הִמָּה.

<sup>10</sup> Dukes, עֶרְבוֹת.

<sup>11</sup> Dukes, אֹר. A marginal note has the words, "חֹר אוֹר." *Cp.* Esther viii. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Dukes, שְׁחָקִים, certainly wrong by metre.

<sup>13</sup> Dukes, הַבְּרִיקִים.

<sup>14</sup> Dukes, יוֹפִי.

<sup>15</sup> Dukes, לְקַנֵּץ.

<sup>16</sup> Dukes, פַּעֲמִיָּה.

<sup>17</sup> Dukes, וְאִם אַתָּה לְהִשְׁכִּיל.

<sup>18</sup> Dukes, לֵךְ, wrong by metre.

<sup>19</sup> Dukes, כָּלִים.

<sup>20</sup> Dukes, וְאִיכָּה, impossible by metre.

<sup>21</sup> Margin has יִירוּצוֹן. So also Dukes. Perhaps דִּירוּצוֹן.

<sup>22</sup> Dukes, תִּבְזֶר, impossible.

<sup>23</sup> Dukes, וְרָבּוּ תִקְרִיב, impossible by metre.

<sup>24</sup> Dukes, מִתְּוָקִים. But MS. reading is better, meaning probably the same as

בְּתָרִים. *Cp.* גָּמָק, cut, broken.

<sup>25</sup> הַלְּבָבוֹת impossible by metre.

This poem bears the heading 'שירים נפרדים אשר מצאתי להר' שלמה גבירול ז"ל, from which I infer (1) that the owner is the scribe himself; (2) that he copied into his book poems from different sources. This poem is punctuated in faded ink, evidently at a later date, and perhaps by a different hand.

The next poem is also attributed to Ibn Gabirol, and bears the heading 'עוד אחר להר'. This poem, too, was published already by A. Geiger in the notes of his booklet, *Salomo Gabirol und Seine Dichtungen*. The text there agrees fully with ours, and Geiger seems to have copied it from this very same MS. But if so, how is it that he did not also print some of the others attributed to the same poet? Geiger mentions his source as the Carmoly MS., and I have not been able to ascertain whether this MS. ever belonged to Carmoly. Geiger reproduces the same difficult readings as our MS., but assumes this poem to be Gabirol's, with which opinion I cannot agree. The historical allusions contained in this poem seem to be against this supposition. If we attribute it to Ibn Gabirol, none of the allusions can be explained, and the poem remains very obscure and almost unintelligible. To my mind the poem did not come from the pen of Gabirol, but from that of Samuel ibn Nagdilah. That this is so I hope to make clear in the course of my few remarks. There is a reference, in line 5, to the Feast of Tabernacles, on which an important event took place in the life of Ibn Nagdilah, and which he himself described most graphically in another poem.

From Arabic sources, drawn from by Dozy in his *Geschichte der Mauren in Spanien* (vol. ii. pp. 248 sqq.), and from Ibn Nagdilah's poems (published in the *Monatschrift* of 1875, pp. 179 sqq., and in Dr. Harkavy's *זכרון לראשונים*, *Studien und Mittheilungen*, i. pp. 29-45, 57-72), we learn that Samuel, during his ministerial career, had come off victorious in several



military expeditions against the enemies of his master, when he sang prayer and praise to the Almighty. And here are the events (in short) which probably gave rise to our poem.

Zohair (זחיר), the Slavonian prince of Almeria (אלמריה), was on friendly terms with the Berber prince Habbûs, ruler of Granada, the lord and master of Ibn Nagdilah, and even sided with him in an attack upon the ruler of Seville, whom they together thoroughly defeated. But Ibn 'Abbâs (עבאס), Zohair's minister, brooked it ill that his prince should be the ally of the Berber prince, who employed an infidel, a Jew, in his highest offices. He, accordingly, together with Ibn Abbi Musa (also called Ibn Baqannah, אבן בקנה), the vizier of Malaga, made several unsuccessful attempts to bring about the dismissal of Ibn Nagdilah. This is related by the latter in his poem :—

ומשנהו בן עבאס מקורא	(i.e. Almeria)	בעת ראה אנני שוכן לחוף ים
דבר מלכות ועצה בי גזורה		כבודי את פני מלכך וכי כל
וכו	וכו	וכו
להדפני בידים מהרה וכו'.		הקדוני עלי הורי, ובקשו

*Studien und Mittheilungen.*

After Habbûs' death, Ibn Nagdilah was retained in his office of Kâtib by Bâdis.

In 1038 Zohair came with his vizier, Ibn 'Abbâs, together with a numerous following, to Granada, in order to conclude an alliance with Bâdis. Zohair, prompted by his vizier, behaved towards the prince and the court in a most scandalous and insulting manner ; so much so, that it was decided that the bridge near Alpuente, which Zohair had to cross homewards, should be broken down and the passes held closed against him. Bâdis gave his guest a warning in secret, but the good intentions of the hospitable and honourable Bâdis were treated contemptuously as a sign of cowardice. On August 3, 1038, ער"ה אלול, on a Thursday night, Zohair's

army was surrounded, and was signally beaten. Zohair himself was slain, and Samuel's bitterest enemy, Ibn 'Abbâs, was taken prisoner, and Samuel sang:—

וראש ששי בראש אלול בעיני      כיום תשעה באב או עשרה  
וסופו יום גאולה יום שמחות      כמו שמחת עניים בקצירה

*Studien und Mittheilungen*, p. 41, lines 11-14.

ולפני בא שנת תשע ותשעים      תשועה שולחה אלי ואורה

*Ibid.*, p. 41, lines 17, 18.

He was kept in prison till September 24, which coincided with שמחת תורה of that year, when he was executed, and Samuel sang again:—

כמו כן נהרג הרג נבלים      בליל שמחת תעודה יקרה

*Ibid.*, p. 42, lines 11, 12.

In the following year, 1039, Iſmail ibn 'Abbâd, the son of the ruler of Seville, cut off the retreat of the Granadian army under the command of Aba-Minâr or Manâr. Ibn Nagdilâh was sent to his rescue. On the 13th of Tishri, on a Thursday night, he offered up a prayer to God, which Dr. Harkavy printed in his *Studien und Mittheilungen*, p. 56. And on the following day, Friday, September 15 (=Tishri 14), in the early part of the evening, he routed Iſmail's army, and Iſmail himself was slain. Samuel celebrated this success in a poem which he called תהלה, where he sang:—

הלי תעשה בכל שני פעלים      כפעלך לאבות ואצילים?

*Ibid.*, p. 57, lines 1, 2.

והושעת לבן איתן (Abraham) בירח      לאיתנים (Tishri) על עובדי בעלים

*Ibid.*, p. 67, line 20.

ואחר צאת שנת תשע ותשעים      תשועה צומחה לו כיבולים

*Ibid.*, p. 68.

ואור לי ליל עֶרְבַת חג אסיפה      ואורו כל שבילי האפלים

*Ibid.*, p. 68, lines 14, 15.

ושמרתי בישר מועדי אל      כהלכתם ליושבי האהלים.

*Ibid.*, p. 68, lines 18, 19.

There is, to my mind, little doubt left that our poem

also celebrated the same occasion which is alluded to in line 5 :—

ובחר בהדם האל לצוות ולקחת ביום ראשון ענפי

which otherwise gives no sense whatever. The day must have been literally a very gloomy and stormy day, which fact further explains our poem. Compare his statement elsewhere (*Studien und Mittheilungen*, p. 36, lines 14–18) :—

והיום יום ערפל וחשכה	והשמש כמו לבי שחורה
וקול המון כקול שדי, כקולים	ומשבירין, בעת יסער סעירה
והארץ בצאת שמש נמונה	וכו".

Such is the description of the day when he obtained his first success in 1038. The opening lines of our poem describe a similar storm and similar conditions. Still, it is difficult to decide whether our poem refers to the former victory in 1038 or to the latter victory in 1039.

Further support for our supposition that Ibn Nagdilah is the author of this poem is found on minute examination. He speaks of himself in the first person. His ambition is well described in lines 12–18. This agrees fully with another poem of his about himself in Harkavy's *Studien*. Having left his home in Cordova, he says that people thought he went to seek riches, but they knew him not. It was fame and not wealth that he had gone to seek (*Studien und Mittheilungen*, p. 14) :—

ידמו כי להוסיף הון אני סר וכו'	ולא ידעו מרעי סוד לכבי
ונפישם מבלי הכר והבין	כנפש הבהמה השסועה
היתאפק אשר נפשו לבנה	וכלבנה להתנשא יגיעה
ועד יפעל וישמעו פעגיו	ויוסיף עוד כים על השמועה.

Thus line 15 of our poem has no meaning in the mouth of Ibn Gabirol, while it is most fittingly said by Ibn Nagdilah.

The metre is :—

יתר וב' תנועות יתר וב' תנועות, ויתר ותנועה ברלת וכן בסוגר.

MS. pp. 42b, 43a.

<p>וְעַתְּ דָמָה לְכִסּוּתוֹ חִיָּפוֹ וְלוֹ צֶדֶק רָדְפוֹ לֹא רָדְפוֹ<sup>1</sup> וְהַעֲנֵן אֶפְפוֹ עַת אֶסְפוֹ וְהָרוּחַ בְּלִי רֵיחַ<sup>4</sup> יִנִּיפוֹ וְלִקְחַת בְּיוֹם רֹאשׁוֹן עֲנָפוֹ וְצוּפוֹ אָמְרוּ לִי: מַה לָּךְ פֶּה<sup>5</sup> וְיִשֵּׁב אֶת לִבְבִי אִזְ סַעְפוֹ וְעַת נִפְזֹר לִבְבִי הוּא אֶסְפוֹ בִּקְרֵב אֹרֶךְ (נִבְוֵר?) לֹא שִׁרְפוֹ<sup>7</sup> בְּמִצְרָף הָעֵנִי<sup>8</sup> תִּשְׁבַּע צִרְפוֹ אֲבַל, כֶּרֶם כִּסִּיל, בּוֹקֵר קִטְפוֹ בְּעֵינֵי הָאֲרִי עֵשֶׂב טָרְפוֹ. עַדִּי נִקַּל בְּעֵינָיו סוֹף וְיָפוֹ<sup>9</sup> יִרְדֵּף הַזֶּמֶן אִיהָ הָרְפוֹ יִדְכֹּא בִּזְמַן תַּחַת כִּנְפוֹ</p>	<p>הִפְרֵשׁ לֵילָה עַל יוֹם כִּנְפוֹ וְרָדְף אַחֲרֵי שֶׁמֶשׁ לַחֲיִיו<sup>1</sup> כִּי־רַח סָבְבוּ יָרֵךְ יִרְקֶק כְּמוֹ אֶמִיר<sup>3</sup> הָדָר נִפְשׁוֹ יִשׁוּבֵב וּבַחֵר בַּהֲדָם הָאֵל לְצוּת<sup>5</sup> וְנִשְׁאֲתִי קִצִּי עֵין לְהַבִּינוֹ יְדִידִי דְּבָרוֹ אֵלַי חֲלָקוֹת<sup>6</sup> וְהוּא פֹזֵר דְּמַעֵי עַת אֶסְפַּתִּים וְלוֹ הוֹשִׁלֶךְ בִּשְׁאֲתוֹ הַתְּלָאוֹת 10 אִמּוֹר לְיוֹם וְיִירֶף, דִּי אֲנִי בּוֹ קָרְאוֹנִי טְרוֹף טָרֶף, עֲנִיתִים וְלוֹ טוֹב לֹאֲרִי חֲצִיר, וְיִישֵׁר וְנִפְשִׁי לְמַדָּה בִּקְשׁ נְדוּלוֹת וְחִלְלִילָה לְנַפְשִׁי מִהוּיּוֹת אוֹשׁ 15 אֲבַל אֵהִיָּה לְעוֹלָם רַב וְנָדִיב</p>
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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Rabbinic לַחֲיִיו יוֹרְדִין.<sup>2</sup> A most obscure line. It probably means that, if night acted justly, it would not have pursued the sun (וְלוֹ צֶדֶק רָדְפוֹ), or צֶדֶק may be here the planet Jupiter, but then I cannot explain it.<sup>3</sup> Like the lofty summit of a tree, i.e. the sun in its lofty position regains its brilliancy.<sup>4</sup> בְּלִי רֵיחַ or בְּלִי רוּחַ, both meaning the same, "ceaselessly," "continually," "without remission." The sense is clear. Just as the top of the tree when moved or bent by continuous breezes each time regains its lofty position, so the sun also regains its brilliancy in spite of the numerous clouds.<sup>5</sup> Cf. the introduction about the hostility of Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Baqannah towards Ibn Nagdilah.<sup>6</sup> The Caliph's words gave him courage to resist his enemies. He could then form plans and dismiss all sorrow.<sup>7</sup> נִבְוֵר is corrupt. I cannot make out what the original may have been. Perhaps מְבוּכָה? His heart was so sore with pain that it would not have felt the burning heat.<sup>8</sup> הָעֵנִי for הָעֵנִי. With this phrase compare שִׁירֵי שְׁלֹמֹה (p. 18).

וְאִם כּוֹר הַזֶּמֶן יִשְׁבַּע בַּחֲרוֹ

וְרַע כִּי לֹא אֲנוֹשׁ נִצַּל כְּמוֹ אִישׁ צִרְפוֹ הַזֶּמֶן יִשְׁבַּע בְּכוֹרֵיו, Also p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> Probably he means that the Red Sea and the Mediterranean are of little significance to him. He is ready to wander to Egypt or Jaffa (cf. Jonah i. 3) to seek his fortunes there rather than be obscure where he is.

ואם לא יולו יורה ענניו	ואם לא יערוף לקש עריפו
ואם תניף האדמה אחרִי איש	ואם בי מאסה מהיות <sup>1</sup> צניפו
ורועה האדמה לי בטובה	ונם ריש הזמי עמי בצופו <sup>2</sup>

The following poem is also attributed to Ibn Gabirol, and is also given as such by Geiger as the preceding. It resembles the preceding one in style. Perhaps it is Gabirol's. If so, it belongs to his early compositions. The style is obscure, and at that time had not yet been recognised as poetry. He complains of ill-treatment. He has the greatest contempt for the poets of his age. *Cp.* his complaints in his long poem, which he wrote at the age of nineteen (Dukes, ש"ש, p. 58 and page 72), ואמרותי אמרות טהורות וכ"ו,

also

והן יודעי שפה ברורה	וכל אמיץ לדבר צח במלות
סחרחרים ולא מצאו ידיהם	והנה לעזות ידי אזולות.

also (*ibid.* p. 2), at about 1045, when on the point of leaving Saragossa:—

הם כענקים בעינם	הם כחנבים בעיני
בשאת משלי יריבון	עמי כמו עם יוני
דברו שפת עם ואשמע	כי זה לשון אשקלוני
עתה אדיקם כמו טיט	כי קלשוני לשוני.

All these sentiments are re-echoed in our poem here. A friend appears to the poet in a dream and steals part of his

<sup>1</sup> מהיות. Strictly it should have been marked מְהִיֹּת, but the poet treats הִי as שו"נח. *Cp.* lines 14 to the end with what he says elsewhere (*Studien und Mittheilungen*, i. p. 22, lines 8-13).

אבל ידע זמן רע כי בזיתיו	וכי אמאס תנאותיו בעודי
ואם עלי במלכותו יסובב	בצורִי! אלכדנו תוך מצורי
ואם יכין בני קיטתו, אפלה	בחצי לב זמן פלח קבדרי.

<sup>2</sup> ורועה; the meaning of י is here "then." "If I be rejected by fate, then I can still enjoy the bounties of Nature, and even my hard luck I can enjoy."

Ibn Gabirol too expressed his independence in one of his poems in a similar manner, ש"ש (p. 10).

אם האדמה חטאה לי	ירוק לבבי רוק בפניה
אם לא בעיני ראתה אורי	די לאדמה עורוניה.



heart (2). He rebukes the poet for not writing poetry. Troubles ought not to discourage him. He ought not to heed the carping of the poetasters. His ideas are loftier than the sky (8). His style is under full control, even though ready to rush forth like an untamed brute (9). He shed glorious lustre round him (10). Both Dunash, the father of measured poetry, and Menahem, his rival, could not be compared with the poet (11). He must slake the thirst of the thirsting (13), he must give a helping hand to the budding poets (16). Was not Aaron Moses' spokesman? (20). The poet replies he cannot sing amidst such croaking fools (21). All grace and poetic beauty have been destroyed. Poetry has been driven from its throne, has been degraded from a god to an idol (24). Criticism is powerless and ineffective. Strike their backs with a hammer, and they feel it not (30). Folly seems to have been created for them especially (33). You could not rid them of it, except by a miracle. A Phineas will come to take revenge (36). Their folly will go down to posterity, and they know it not.

The metre is the same as in the poem above.

וְעֵבֶר בְּעֵבֶר בְּקֶרֶב בְּפִלְאוֹ <sup>1</sup>	אֲזִי בַסְעִיף הָלִים רֹחַ נִשְׁאוֹ
וְלוֹ מִי רֵאוֹת עֹמֵד, רַפְאוֹ.	וְלֶאֱסֹד אַחֲרָיו שִׁמְךָ לִבִּי <sup>2</sup>
וְלֹא שִׁעֲרָ לִבִּי, כִּי בִזְאוֹ <sup>3</sup>	וְקִץ לְשׁוֹר דְּמוּתוֹ מִסְעֹפּוֹ <sup>3</sup>
לְבַלְתִּי יֹאמְרוּ הִיָּשֶׁק מִלְאוֹ <sup>5</sup>	וַיִּסְתֵּר מֵאֲתִי נֹעֵר אֲמִרְיוֹ

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* "secretly," "quietly," "wonderfully." *Cp.* וְהוּא פִלְאִי, Judges xiii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> "Took part of my heart with him, and had he stayed he would have soothed it (my heart)." *Cp.* Harkavy's *Studien und Mittheilungen*, i. p. 76, lines 14, 15:—

וְקִיֵּר מִחֲצִית לִבּוֹ בִּקְרָבוֹ      וְהִנֵּה לַחֲיוֹ מִחֲצִיתוֹ.

<sup>3</sup> וְקִץ, *i.e.* "When my heart awoke from its reveries to look at him (the friend), it did not feel anything, for it had been cut by the friend, who took a portion away with him."

<sup>4</sup> וְלֹא שִׁעֲרָ לִבִּי. *Cp.* Deut. xxxii. 17: אֲשֶׁר לֹא שִׁעְרוּם אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם; and Prov. xxiii. 7: כִּמוֹ שֶׁעַר בִּנְפִשׁוֹ. For בִּזְאוֹ *cp.* Isa. xviii. 2, 7. Either "robbed it," or "cut it through."

<sup>5</sup> "When I was awake he was not there. Why? Lest he be accused of fulfilling my wish?" Perhaps we should read נֹעֵם instead of נֹעֵר.

ושבֵּר אַחֲרֵי שֶׁבֶר קִרְאוּ  
 הִיתָמְלֵא, וְהוּא עוֹז לְהִנְיֹאוּ<sup>1</sup>  
 לְהַכִּיל מַחֲשַׁבּוֹתָיו יוֹם צָבָאוּ<sup>2</sup>  
 וְהִשָּׁח בְּמַתִּי שִׁחַק בְּיִשְׂאוּ  
 וְתַחַת רִגְלֶךָ תִּדְבֹּר לְבִיאוּ  
 כְּשִׁמְשׁ, מִמֶּךָ הִיָּה מִבּוֹאוּ<sup>3</sup>  
 וְשִׁיר דּוֹנִשׁ, וְשִׁיר אֲבִיו קִרְאוּ<sup>4</sup>  
 בְּנֵי עֵישׁ, וְיִרְאוּן בְּבּוֹאוּ<sup>5</sup>  
 יֹאזֵר, בּוֹ כָּל יֹאזֵר יִשְׁבֵּר צִמְאוּ  
 וְעִטְרָתָ<sup>6</sup> כְּחִנְתִּי גִלְתִּי בְּדִכְאוּ  
 וּפִיִּין כֹּאפִיק נָחַל בְּשִׂיאוּ<sup>7</sup>  
 בְּלִי עֶרוֹךְ? וְאַתָּה שֶׁר צָבָאוּ!  
 כְּהִתְעוֹת אֲנוּשׁ שְׁכוֹר בְּקִיאוּ  
 אֲשֶׁר הַשִּׁיר בְּמִצְרָף לֹא הִבִּיאוּ<sup>8</sup>  
 עֲדִי כִי קִפְאוּ יָמִים לִקְפָּאוּ  
 וְעַל כֵּן אֲהָרֵן הִיָּה נִבִּיאוּ.  
 חֲכִי נִלְכַּד בַּחֲבִלֵי הַתְּלָאוֹת<sup>9</sup>  
 וּמִשְׁפָּרֶךְ תִּמְוֹל הֵנִיא, זְמַנּוּ  
 פָּאֵלִי אֲזַנֶּךָ הָעַם אִשְׁרֵךְ  
 וְאֹז לְבָבְךָ כְּנֻפּוֹת בְּאִדְמָה<sup>10</sup>  
 וְרָקַע שִׁכְלֶךָ מִדְּבַר דְּבָרִים<sup>11</sup>  
 וְנִגְהַ מִּמֶּךָ עוֹד עַל אֲנָשִׁים<sup>12</sup>  
 וְלֹא נֹכַח לְשִׁירֵן שִׁיר מִנְחָם  
 וְצַח יִסְתּוֹר בְּעוֹדוֹ עַל אֲדָמָה  
 וְאִיכָּה תַּחֲרִישׁ כִּיּוֹם לְהַפִּיִין  
 וְנַפְשׁ בְּהַמּוֹת יָמִים תִּדְבֹּה  
 וְלִשׁוֹן כְּחֻצֵּץ בֶּרֶק לְהַטּוֹ<sup>13</sup>  
 וְנִטְשֵׁת, וְדוֹר הַשִּׁיר מִפּוֹזֵר  
 לְבַל נִתְעָה לְבַבּוֹת בְּכִסְלִיּוֹת  
 וְכָל שׁוֹנָה יִקְלַל מִמִּשְׁנָה  
 וּמִקִּיר נִזְלוּ כִי נִצְבוּ נֹד  
 זֶכֶר מִשָּׁה אִשְׁרֵךְ הִיָּה כְּבֹד פֹּה<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Yesterday's day prevented the birth of new compositions. Can that lost day be replaced? And time is indeed hard and inauspicious towards you, and may prevent you from composing." מִשְׁבֵּר seems to mean here the act of giving birth (to poems). Any other punctuation that I tried gives no sense.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot make out this line.

<sup>3</sup> "Once your thoughts gave the earth wings to soar aloft (with your ideas) far beyond the skies."

<sup>4</sup> "Thy mind spread out an expanse of words, a wilderness in extension." מִדְּבַר may be taken to mean "wilderness," or "speech." Cp. Cant. iv. 3. On the figure of comparing speech to an untamed animal, cp. *J. Q. R.*, vol. xiv. 729, iv., the article by I. Goldzieher. תִּדְבֹּר לְבִיאוּ. Notice the play on the roots of דִּבֵּר, "speak," and of מִדְּבַר, "wilderness," and הִדְבִּיר, "to trample down." Cp. Ps. xlvii. 4.

<sup>5</sup> "Without thee the sun is low."

<sup>6</sup> Dunash was the first to introduce Arabic metres in Hebrew verse. Cp. זוֹהַר בֶּן לְבָרָאט אִשְׁרֵי בִשְׂאוֹ יִרְט . . . בִּשְׁקֵלוֹ הֶעֱבֵרִית בְּמִשְׁקָלִים זָרִים: i. 6, נָחַל קְרוֹמִים. Also תְּשׁוּבוֹת אֲבִן שִׁשֵּׁת, p. 22 (ed. Stern), and לְבָרָאט בֶּן רַבִּי דּוֹנִשׁ, by Kahana (Tushiah), p. 3 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Job xxxviii. 32. For פָּצַח = friend, cp. Cant. v. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps וְעוֹרֶרֶת. Cp. 2 Sam. xxiii. 18. Cp. also *Tahkemoni*, cap. 2: (יהודה) יוֹשֵׁב בִּשְׁבַת תַּחֲכַמְנִי הוּא עֲדִינוּ הָעֲצָנִי וְהוּא עוֹרֵר חֲנִיתוֹ עַל הַנְּפִלִים וְעוֹר נִבּוֹרֵי הַשִּׁיר חֲלָלִים.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. *Tahkemoni*, cap. 16: כִּי לִשׁוֹן בֶּרֶק יִרְוֹץ כִּמוֹ פִּטְיֵשׁ לְבַב אִימִים יִפּוֹצֵץ.

<sup>10</sup> "An unfinished poem is unpardonable."



In the MS. there follow the following poems, which have already been printed by Dukes:—

(Dukes, אנוש) שירי שלמה in היהיה איש (p. 53).

לבי שמח „ (p. 48).

עבי שחקים „ (p. 34).

Then comes the following poem, also attributed to Ibn Gabirol, but unfortunately it cannot be his, since it has the acrostic, אלעזר הכהן. The scribe copied it into his MS. without noticing that it was not Gabirol's. This was noticed by a later owner of the MS., who remarked in the margin, ר"ת אליעזר (!) כהן. That it is not the note of the original owner can be inferred from the different hand (compare, e.g., the א). Our scribe, however, was not the only collector of poems who made such a mistake. The first collector of Jehudah Hallevi's poems, ר' חייא הרץ, did the same, and the second collector pointed out that one of the poems attributed to Jehudah bore the acrostic, שלמה. Luzzatto found several more such errors in his *Divân* (*vide* Introduction to יהודה בת יהודה, p. 16). The poet must have belonged to the Spanish school, as can be gathered from the style and metre. The German school did not possess such skill and fluency. Perhaps it is the work of Abulfatah Eleazar b. Nahman Ibn Azhar of Seville. He was a contemporary of both Jehudah Hallevi and Moses b. Ezra, and was on friendly terms with both (*vide* Grätz, vi. 122, 3). Moses b. Ezra eulogised him, and has also written an elegy at his death. The question is whether he was a כהן. Perhaps this can be inferred from the words of Moses b. Ezra (Dukes, *Mos. b. Ezra*, pp. 104–5):—

אם מצדקות נפשטו אישים, פשוט הישר פאר צדקך להלבישני  
או מכסילות נטמאו נזים, לאט מי שכלך הנה להקדישני

MS. p. 45a.

וְתִרְאֶה כֹּל, וְכָפַל נֶעְלָמָה	אֲמוֹנֶת־חַן עָלַי הַנּוֹף רְשׁוּמָה
וּשְׁם אוֹתָהּ נִבּוֹנָה וְחִכְמָה	לְחִבּוּן נִפְלְאוֹת יוֹצְרָה נְעוּרָה
וְהִיא נוֹלָה וְנִכְרִית בְּאֶדְמָה	עֲשֻׁקוֹהָ בְּתוֹךְ גּוֹפָה לְתִלּוֹנוֹת
מִשׁוּלָּה הִיא לְאוֹר סֶהַר וְחִמָּה	זְרִיחָתָה לְבַד עַל זֶרְעֶיהָ <sup>1</sup>
וְתִמְצֵא שֵׁם בְּקִרְבָּתָהּ נְעִימָה	רְצוֹנָה לְחִזּוֹת נֹעֵם יִדְרָה
וְרִחֲקָה מִמְעוֹנָהּ לֵה נִקְמָה	כְּבוֹדוֹ וְהִדְרוֹ לֵה מְנוּחָה
וּמְמִישְׁלָתוֹ לְאֵין קֶצֶף עֲצוּמָה	הַתּוֹכֵל עוֹד לְהִשִּׁיג מַהֲלָלוֹ
וְגַם לִשְׁמוֹ תִּהְלֵל כֹּל נִשְׁמָה	נְעִים זָכְרוּ בְּפִי כֹל חַי מְבָרָךְ

Then follows a panegyric written on a certain Moses. The style is excellent, fluent, and skilful in the play on words. Is the indication of authorship, given by the MS. in the words 'עד אחר להנני', reliable? Did Gabirol have a friend Moses? If so, who was he? From the poem it appears that Moses was a well-known personage—learned, benevolent, and a poet besides. Would it be wrong to suggest that the Moses mentioned is Moses b. Ezra, and that the poem may be perhaps the work of Jehudah Hallevi? Moses b. Ezra was celebrated by his contemporaries, as well as by later generations, as a scholar and poet. He came from a distinguished family. And if this our poem be compared with others that came from the pen of Jehudah Hallevi, in praise of his friend, we would find a striking resemblance in them to one another. *E.g.* :—

וּכְפִיו מִתְמוֹךְ נֹעֵר נְעוּרוֹת	וִיתְהַלֵּל בְּשִׁיבָה אִישׁ אִשְׁרֵי שֵׁב	
וְתִאֲוֹתָיו בִּיד שִׁכְלוֹ מִכּוֹרוֹת	כִּרְבַּב מֹשֶׁה אִשְׁרֵי מִשְׁלֵי בְרוּהוֹ	
	<i>Harkavy</i> (ed. Achiasaf) i. p. 81 (יְשִׁירֵי יְהוּדָה הַלֵּוִי)	
בְּגִדָיו הַחֲמוּדוֹת הַטְּהוּרוֹת	אִשְׁרֵי יֹשֵׁב בְּצֵל חִכְמָה וְלִבֵּשׁ	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 82.
שִׁפְתָיו מִסְפּוֹר טוֹבךְ קִצְרוֹת . . .	תַּחֲדֵּשׁ טוֹבךְ כֹּל יוֹם לְעֶבֶד	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 83.
בְּתַנְמוּלֵי חֶסֶדִּיךְ אֲסוּרוֹת . . .	לֶךְ כִּמָּה נִפְשׁוֹת נִעְבְּדוֹת	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 83.
קִרְיָא מוֹעֵד נְבִיר הַדּוֹר אֲצִילוֹ . . .	כִּלְיֵי חֲכָמוֹת וְתַפְאֶרֶת מְזֻמּוֹת	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 83.
וְלֹא אֵהִיָּה כִּקְרָה אִו קַחְלוֹ	אֲנִי מוֹדָה וּמִתּוֹדָה לְמֹשֶׁה	
וְהַחֲסֵד אִשְׁרֵי קֶדֶם נִמְלֹ	וְחִלְלָה לְכַחֵשׁ מִפְעֻלוֹתָיו	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 90.

The MS. has זְעִיָּה, which I corrected into זֶרְעִיָּה.



Another coincidence may lend support, though very weak indeed, to the above suggestion. In lines 18 and 19 of our poem we have a description of Moses' poetry. It is well known that Jehudah Hallevi called himself (and was also called by others) אֶפְקָה, *e.g.* (*Harkavy*, i. 39) נֶאֱמַר אֶפְקָה בְּיוֹם אֶסְפָּה חֲרוֹזֵי (and תַּחֲכַמּוּנִי, cap. 2—אֶסְפָּה, וכמעט לפניו סף אֶסְפָּה) ; and the whole line is an echo of a poem addressed by Moses ben Ezra to a certain Jehudah, probably Hallevi, which runs as follows (*Divân*, Mos. b. Ezra, *Kerem Hemed*, iv. 87):—

התפארו בהם והתעודרו	איתן והימן לו זממיו שמעו
כי לו יצועי מאמר קפדו	בן מבני לוי ידיהם נבהו,

It is well known that it was customary to repeat some of the phrases occurring in letters and poems sent to them, and it is quite possible that our poem may be a reply to Moses' poem quoted here last. Further, מעסים רמון in 8*b* may have reference to Moses' place of abode, Granada. J. Hallevi used the word in this sense in his poem to יהודה בן נִיאַת (*vide Harkavy*, i. p. 108), בעברי על פני רמון מפחד וכו'. For this appellation compare also Neubauer's *Med. Chron.*, v. p. 138, לְכֹר מֶלֶךְ סִפְרָד כֹּל :—מַלְכוּת גְּרָאנָדָה הִיא רִמּוֹן סִפְרָד

MS. p. 45*a*.

אֲשֶׁר קִיַּם מְזֻמּוֹת תּוֹצְאוֹתַי <sup>1</sup>	לְנַחַל בֵּין מְמוֹלָא עַל גְּדוֹתַי
וְגַם לְלִקּוֹט בְּדוֹלַח מַחֲשָׁבוֹתַי	מִתִּי לֵב שׁוֹאפִים לִירוֹת בְּמִימַי
הִישׁ לְמַצָּא ? וְלוֹ אַחַת קְצוֹתַי	וְעַל כֵּן שָׂאֵל „אֲנִשִּׁי מְזֻמּוֹת

<sup>1</sup> Abraham B. Ezra must have had these lines in mind when he wrote a panegyric on a certain Moses of Rome (*vide Harkavy's* edition, *Achiasaf*, i. 63):—

וְכוֹכֵב בֵּין בְּנֵי עֵשׂ מִשְׁכְּנוֹתַי	לְנַחַל בֵּין אִשֶּׁר מוֹלָא גְדוֹתַי
יְמִינוֹ אַחֲזָה בִּשְׁתֵּי קְצוֹתַי וְכו'.	אִשֶּׁר דֶּרֶךְ נְתִיב יִשְׂרָאֵל וְצִדְקָה

אבל לא יַעֲבְרוּ מַעֲבְרוֹתָיו <sup>1</sup>	הַיִּיבוֹם, נָם לַעֲיִנִּיכֶם אֶרְחִיו
וּרְם שִׂיאוֹ וּזְכוֹ מַחֲשַׁבּוֹתָיו	לִבְדָּבָר אִשֶּׁר נָבַר לִבּוֹ <sup>5</sup>
וּלְחֶם עִם מִתּוֹ עוֹד מַלְחָמוֹתָיו <sup>2</sup>	אִשֶּׁר לֶחֶם בִּלְחֶם בֵּין וּהִבִּין
וְאִזּוּ יִרְאֶה בְּעֵינָיו נִפְלְאוֹתָיו	וְהִשִּׁיג מִפְּלֹאוֹת כָּל פְּלֹאוֹת
עֲנָבִים מַעֲסִים רִמּוֹן לְשׁוֹתָיו <sup>3</sup>	כִּרְבִּי מִשֶּׁה אִשֶּׁר דּוֹדָיו לְדוֹדָיו
וְגַם יִקַּר וַיִּשְׁרֹ מַפְעֻלוֹתָיו <sup>4</sup>	נָבִיר נִבְרוּ מִזְמוֹתָיו וְנִבְהוּ
וַיִּשְׁרֹת הָאֲמוֹנוֹת אוֹמְנוֹתָיו <sup>5</sup>	יְחִיד בִּינֹת וְאוֹמֵן הָאֲמוֹנוֹת <sup>10</sup>
וַיִּפּוּצוּ לַחֲוָצָה מַעֲיָנוֹתָיו	מִקּוֹד חַיִּים יְרוּה כָּל סִבִּיבֵיו
וַיִּפְתָּחוּ בִּפְתָּחַי פִּיּוֹ דִלְתָיו	לִבְבוֹ נַעֲשֶׂה אוֹצֵר תְּבוּנוֹת
צִמְאִים נִהְרוּ אֶל נְהֻרוֹתָיו	רַעֲבִים מִהָרוּ אֶל שְׁלִיחוֹתָיו <sup>6</sup>
וּמִנְּדֵי בֵין אֲרוֹ מִבֵּין שִׁפְתָיו <sup>7</sup>	מִתִּי שִׁכַּל קָחוּ מִפִּיּוֹ מַלְיָצוֹת

MS. p. 45b.

וְעַל מוֹסֵר וְעֵדוֹת מִמִּשְׁלֹתָיו	נָבִיר מִשְׁלָל בְּכָל מִשְׁלָל וְחִידוֹת <sup>15</sup>
וּשְׁם לִפְאָר בְּרִאשׁוֹ מִנְּבֻעוֹתָיו	וְעֵטָה מַעֲטָה צֶדֶק לִכְבוֹד
וְהוּא קִרָּא אִמֶּת לְהֵן אַחֻתָיו <sup>8</sup>	וְהַתְּכֻמוֹת קִרְאוּהוּ אַחִיָּהֵן
וּכְלָל לֹא יִכְלָל דְּבָרוֹתָיו <sup>9</sup>	מַלְיָצוֹתָיו יַחִיתוֹן לִבִּי יְדוֹתוֹן
יְדֵי אֶקֶף לְאַפָּה מִחֲנוֹתָיו <sup>10</sup>	וְהִימֵן וְהִמּוֹנוֹ מִהִמּוֹנוֹ
וְאִם נִבְהוּ עָלַי עֵשׂ מִשְׁכַּנּוֹתָיו <sup>11</sup>	וְהוּא עָנָו יִשְׁפַּל רוּחַ בְּעֵינָיו <sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Notice the poetic licence in treating אֶ as שֵׁנָע (from אֶרֶח), really חֲטוֹף הָ; also יַעֲבְרוּ for יַעֲבְרוּ, and מַעֲבְרוֹתָיו for מַעֲבָרָיו.

<sup>2</sup> A very clever play on the various meanings of the root לָחַם. Cp. Prov. xxiii. 6: אֵל תִּלְחֶם אֶת לָחֶם. Cp. also Luzzatto, *Divan*, 20b:—

הַלּוֹחֲמִים לְחֶמָּה לִלְחֶם לּוֹחֲמִים בָּה לַעֲשׂוֹת כָּל אִישׁ וְכ"ו.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Cant. iv. 10; v. 1; viii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Notice the poetic licence in יִשְׁרֹ, נִבְהוּ, יִשְׁרוּ.

<sup>5</sup> A clever play on the words. אֹמֵן הָאֵם means, he is a profound theologian (אֲמוֹנוֹת וְדַעוֹת); וַיִּשְׁרֹת הָאֲמוֹנוֹת is an echo from Isa. xlix. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Cant. iv. 13. We should perhaps have expected שְׁלָח.

<sup>7</sup> אֲרוּ. Cp. Cant. v. 1. Cp. also Harkavy, *Studien und Mittheilungen*, i. p. 145, 99:

נִשּׂוּ אַחִים לָגֵן שִׁכְלִי אֲרוּ אֶת עֲצֵי תֵם מִפְּרֵי חַיִּים טַעוֹנִים

<sup>8</sup> We should expect אַחֻתָיו.

<sup>9</sup> and <sup>10</sup> A very clever play on words. Cp. 1 Kings v. 11; 1 Chron. xxv. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Notice נִבְהוּ. For עֵשׂ cp. Job ix. 9.

וְהָעֵלָה עַד לַמַּעֲלָה מַעֲלוֹתַיו	הָרִימוּ הַזִּמְנָן עַל רֹאשׁ צָבָא רוֹם
וְתִאֲוָתָם לְהַשְׁלִים תֹּאוֹתַיו	וַיִּמִּים לַעֲשׂוֹת חֲפָצוֹ חֲפָצִים
בְּמִתְקֵן פִּיּוֹ וּמַעַם אִמְרוֹתָיו	גִּבִּיר מִשָּׁךְ וְקִנְיָה הַלְבָבוֹת
וְרוֹזְנִים יִדְמוּ אֶל מוֹעֲצוֹתָיו	לְמַלְיוֹ יִאֲזִינוּ הַמַּלְכִּים
וְבֵה יִשְׁנֶה אֲנוּשׁ כָּל מִשְׁאֲלוֹתָיו	וְהַחֲכָמָה בַּעֲלִיָּה תִּחְיֶה <sup>25</sup>
וְהִיא הָיְתָה עֵנֶק עַל גִּרְגְּרוֹתָיו	וְהוּא הָיָה וְהִיא לֵה כְּלִיל חֵן
וּנְפֶשׁ שֶׁשָּׁבָה מִמִּגְדָּנוֹתָיו	נִדְיָבִי עִם בֵּינָן חֲסֵדוֹ שְׁתוּתָם
יִשְׁמֹן הַתְּהַלּוֹת מַחֲלָצוֹתָיו	וְהַמִּגְבִּיר חֲסִדּוֹ עַל בְּנֵי אִישׁ
נְדִיבוֹת לוֹ יְרוּשָׁה מֵאֲבוֹתָיו	נִדִּיר לֵב בֶּן נְדִיבִים הוּא וְרַק הִ' <sup>26</sup>
וְהוּא לֹא יִפְסֹק עוֹד מִתְּנוּתָיו	עֲנָנִים נוֹזְלִים אֵךְ לֹא בְּכָל עֵת <sup>30</sup>
מִטֶּר יִדּוֹ וְנוֹזֵלִי אֲצַבְעוֹתָיו	וְעַל כֵּן אֲסַפּוּ יָדָם לִנְגֹד
וְטוֹב זְכוֹר רַחֲמוֹת מִרְכַּבְתּוֹ	שְׁמוֹ עַף כְּדָרוֹר לִקְצֵה אֲפָסִים <sup>1</sup>
אֱלֹהִים יֹאדִיךָ בְּטוֹב שְׁנוֹתָיו	בְּתוֹרַת אֵל הַגִּנוּת <sup>2</sup> כָּל יְמוֹתָיו

The next poem in the MS. is also ascribed to Ibn Gabirol, which, however, is the work of Jehudah Hallevi, as is proved by other evidence. The poem begins נפשי לכית אל (Luzz. אב) נכספה. Cp. Luzzatto, *Divân* 57, p. 21, and *Harkavy*, ii. p. 151. Also the poem following this one is not Gabirol's, though it, too, is ascribed to him. See Luzzatto's *Bethulath bath Jehudah*, 58. Also the לוח השירים (*Divân*, p. 11, No. 329). The heading is: ימינו בתוך (בחיק) לזר עצורה. Thereupon follows a most beautiful and interesting religious poem. It is an address to the soul. The deep emotion and intense piety of the poet are couched in the finest and most felicitous expressions. The style is most artificial, yet easy and graceful. Biblical phrases are handled most skilfully, and the whole tone of the hymn resembles the בְּתֵר מַלְכוּת. Abraham Ibn Ezra also wrote a similar poem, and seems to have used this one as his model, but his, in parts, is inferior to ours. Vide Cohen's (כהנא) edition (אהיאסף) of Ibn Ezra's poems, i. 205; Sachs (M.), *Religiöse Poesie*, p. 44, where it is given anonymously. One

<sup>1</sup> Cp. ארץ אפס.

<sup>2</sup> We should expect הגנותו.

Line 27, שְׁתוּתָם, is my correction. The MS. reads שְׁרוּתָם.

may perhaps find an indication of the author's name (שלמה) in lines 24, 25 : אבל אנישי שלומיה בנדו בה . אני כל עת אבקש את שלומה. This was a practice not uncommon with the Spanish poets. Cp. notes on Ibn Ezra's poem (line 10), also Sachs, *Religiöse Poesie*, p. 277, note 1 :—

וּתְנִיד כִּי בִידֶךָ אֶל פַּעֲלָתָהּ	לֶךְ נַפְשִׁי תִסְפֹּר כִּי יַעֲרָתָהּ <sup>1</sup>
וּמֵאֵין בְּאוֹר עֵין מִיִּשְׁבָּתָהּ <sup>2</sup>	לֶךְ הָיָא, בְּדַבְרֵי יָה נִמְצָאָה בִּי
וּתְעִיר כִּי בְּקִרְבִּי אֶת נִפְחָתָהּ <sup>3</sup>	לֶךְ תֵּאֵמִין וְגַם תּוֹרָה בִּימִין
אִמָּת, כִּי לַעֲשׂוֹת חֲפִץ שְׁלַחָתָהּ	לֶךְ תּוֹרָה עָלֶי עֲבֻדוֹת בַּעֲדוֹת
וְיוֹם תֵּשׁוּב לֶךְ כֹּאשֶׁר נָתַתָּה	לֶךְ אָמְרָה בַּעֲדוֹת בְּאִדְמָה <sup>5</sup>
וְאֶת עֲמָה בְּכָל קוֹמָה וּשְׁבָתָהּ <sup>4</sup>	לֶךְ עֲצֻמָּה וְאַתָּה הוּא מְקוֹמָה
וּמִפִּיךָ תִּבְנֹתָהּ וְדַעְתָּהּ	לֶךְ מַעַת הַיּוֹתָהּ עַד חַיּוֹתָהּ
לֶךְ תּוֹרָה עָלֶי מִימָה וּפְתָהּ	לֶךְ תִּדְרֹשׁ דְּבַר חֶקֶה וּסְפָקָהּ <sup>6</sup>
וְאַנְחָתָהּ, מְקוֹם עֲשָׂן קְטָרָתָהּ	לֶךְ תִּשְׁפּוֹךְ דְּמָעֶיהָ כְּנֶסֶךְ
וְצִלְעוֹתָיו עֲצֵי אֵשׁ מַעֲרָכָתָהּ	לֶךְ תִּקְרִיב קָרֵב לְבָהּ כִּקְרִבָּן <sup>10</sup>
כְּמִבְכִּירָה בְּיוֹם צִירָה בְּלִדְתָּהּ <sup>6</sup>	לֶךְ תּוֹחִיל בְּיוֹם תּוֹזַעַק וְתַחִיל
בְּקוֹל יִשְׁחָה עָלֶי פִּתְחָהּ וְדִלְתָּהּ	לֶךְ תִּקְוֶה בְּלֵב כִּיקוֹר וְתִשְׁקוֹר
וְכִשְׁפָּחָה חֲצֵפָה אֶל נִבְרָתָהּ	לֶךְ תִּקְרַב כְּמוֹ עֶבֶד לְמוֹל רֵב
וְתַתְּחֶנּוּ וְתִשְׁתַּפֵּךְ בְּנִעְתָּהּ <sup>7</sup>	לֶךְ תִּנּוֹף וְתִפְרִישׁ כֶּף לְמוֹל כֶּף

<sup>1</sup> The heading of this poem is found in a list of poems which was recently found in the Genizah. See Neubauer in *Gedenkbuch z. Erinnerung an David Kaufmann* (1900), p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> This line is corrupt in the MS. לֶךְ בְּדַבְרֵי יָה אִז נִמְצָא, the metre does not allow it. מִיִּשְׁבָּתָהּ, I cannot punctuate it. The meaning is obvious. That rays of light proceed from the eye to the object was first taught by Empedocles. Galenus too taught the same theory, and it reached the Jews through the Arabs. Vide M. Sachs, *Rel. Poesie*, p. 227, note 1, and p. 283, note 1. Cp. *Θείον ψυχῆς ὄμμα*. The *כתר מלכות* contains the following passage :—

אַתָּה חֶכֶם, וּמַחֲכֵמֶתְךָ אֲצִלַּת חֲפִץ מְזוּמָן כְּפֹעֵל וְאִמָּן לְמוֹשׁוֹךְ מִשְׁךְ הַיֵּשׁ מִן הָאֵין כְּהַמֹּשֶׁךְ הָאוֹר הַיּוֹצֵא מִן הָעֵין. כִּי מֵאֵת הַנִּשְׁמָה נִבְרָא הַגּוֹף וְיוֹצֵא מֵאֵין לֵישׁ מִפְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר יֵרֵד ה' עָלָיו בְּאֵשׁ.

Cp. also *Mibhar Hapeninim* (ed. Asher), No. 551 :

וּכְמוֹ שֶׁהִנֵּה עֵין הָאוֹר כֵּן הִשְׁכֵּל עֵין הַנֶּפֶשׁ וְכֹאשֶׁר שֶׁהַשֶּׁמֶשׁ אוֹר הָעוֹלָם כֵּן הַנֶּפֶשׁ אוֹר הַגּוֹף.

The soul is the sun of the microcosmos man.

<sup>3</sup> בִּימִים=בִּימִין. Cp. Deut. v. 24. אֶתָּה for אֶתָּה, also in line 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Ps. cxxxix. 2. <sup>5</sup> Cp. Job xx. 22 and Prov. xxxi. 15. <sup>6</sup> Cp. Jer. iv. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. Ps. xli. 4 ; Lam. ii. 12. בְּנִעְתָּהּ=in her weariness (יָנַע). Cp. בְּלִדְתָּהּ from יָלַד.

לְצַפּוֹר קוֹתָה לְנוֹר בְּרִשְׁתָּה <sup>1</sup>	לךְ תִּהְיֶה וְלֹא תִרְמָה, וְתִרְמָה <sup>15</sup>
לְסַפֵּר מְלֻאכּוֹתֶיךָ מִלֵּאכְתָּה <sup>2</sup>	לךְ תִּקּוּם הַצּוֹת קֵיל וְתִשְׁמֹר,
כָּבֵר כֹּפֶה וְנִקְיוֹן מִיִּשְׁבָּתָה <sup>3</sup>	לךְ תִּכְלֶה וּפְנִיךָ תִּחַלֶּה
קָרָא יִשְׁעָה מִיָּה פִּשְׁעָה בְּנִשְׁתָּה	רַפָּא יִשְׁבְּרָה, הִיָּה סִתְרָה וְעִזְרָה
לְשׁוּעָתָה וּדְמָעָתָה בְּרִדְתָּה	נִמּוֹל תִּשְׁיֵב, וְלֵב תּוֹשִׁיב, וְתִקְשִׁיב
נָקַם נִקְמַת כְּלִמָּתָהּ וּבִשְׁתָּה	לְעַנְי שְׂרִי לְצוֹרֵר לְעִנּוּלָה <sup>4</sup>
וְאַל תִּסְגֵּר יְחִידָהּ שְׁגִדְלָתָה <sup>5</sup>	הִיָּה מִצָּר לְצָר מִבְּצָר בְּמִצָּר
בְּמִקּוֹם בְּלִתֵּךְ אֵין שֵׁם וּבִלְתָּה <sup>6</sup>	רָאָה עֵינֶיהָ שָׁמְעָה בְּכִיָּה לֵךְ יָה
וְלֹא אֶכְזֹר יִצְרִיָּה בְּלִדְתָּה	וְלֹא אוֹיֵב תִּרְפֶּיָּה וְתִשָּׂא
וְהָמָה, וְהַמָּסָה עַל חִבְרָתָה	אֲבָל אֲנִשִּׁי שְׁלוֹמִיָּה בְּנָדוּ בָּה
וְהָמָה בְּקִשּׁוֹ נִפְשִׁי לִקְחָתָה	אֲנִי כָל עֵת אֲבַקֵּשׁ אֶת שְׁלוֹמָה <sup>25</sup>
וְהִמְשַׁל אִמַּת הָאֵם בְּבִתָּה <sup>7</sup>	וְאָמַר כִּי פִי הָעֵין בִּשְׂרָשׁוֹ

<sup>1</sup> "To thee she moans unceasingly, and, like a bird ensnared, she hopes to get away."

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Ps. lxxiii. 28; cxix. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Ps. cxix. 81. In the Hebrew poets of the Middle Ages the "Doctrine of Ecstasy" holds a prominent part. The soul, being an emanation from the Divine Intelligence, cannot bear to be pent up in the earthly body. In that low abode it cannot perceive things infinite and absolute Wisdom. Cp. J. Myer, *Philosophical Writings of Gabirol* (1888), ch. viii. p. 158 sqq. Cp. also Dukes, *Moses b. Ezra*, p. 87, 7; also p. 91, 12:

בְּמִאֶסֶר נוֹף נִעְצָרָה אֶךְ אֵל כְּבוֹד צִמִּית  
בְּרָה בְּכִלּוֹא הַנוֹף נִעְצָרָה הַתְּבוֹנִנִי כִי הָעוֹלָם מִעֲבוּרָה

<sup>4</sup> עִנּוּלָה. "O mock the foe of this 'Sphere' below, avenge confusion and her shame." Gabirol in his *Meqor Hayyim* speaks of spiritual and material spheres (עִנּוּלֹת רוּחָנִיּוֹת וְעֵנִי נִשְׁמִיּוֹת). The soul belongs to the former. The bodily passions are the foe of the soul, and must be subdued. Cp. especially the quotation from the *Meqor Hayyim* in Munk's *Mélanges*, p. "טו" §§ 40, 40, also § 23 (p. 276).

<sup>5</sup> Distress with pain (בְּמִצָּר, cp. Ps. cxviii. 5) the fortified foe, and do not deliver thine only daughter whom thou hast brought up. Cp. Ps. xxii. 21 and xxxv. 17, where יְחִידָהּ = נִשְׁמָה, נִפְשָׁה. Notice שֶׁן for שְׁגִדְלָתָהּ.

<sup>6</sup> "Where Thou art not she pines away."

<sup>7</sup> The opening of the spring is its source. The soul is a portion of the Divine. Notice also the implied meaning of "eye" in the word עֵין (spring). The soul, together with the Divine Intellect, is the light of the body, the substance which sheds its rays through the eyes. Cp. כֹּתֵר מְלֻכּוֹת:

(הַנִּשְׁמוֹת) מִמְּקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ יִהְיוּ וּמִמְּקוֹר הָאוֹר יִמְשְׁכוּ

Also Dukes, *Moses b. Ezra*, pp. 90, 91:

אוֹתָהּ נִפְשִׁי אֵל מְקוֹם נִפְשָׁה (rest) וּכְלָתָהּ אֵל מְקוֹר שְׂרָשָׁה

The way God's Will emanated to matter, i.e. gave it shape and form, can be con-



Here the small *group* of Gabirol's compositions (according to the authority of the MS.) comes to an end. Poems by other various authors follow. But later on the MS. contains a few more poems attributed to Gabirol, which I shall mention briefly.

MS. p. 61,	כשרש עין	Vide Dukes, שירי שלמה, p. 22.
„ 62,	בחר מהחלי	„ „ p. 11.
„ 63,	שירה יתומה לר" יוסף בן חסדאי = הלצבית חן	
		Vide Dukes, נחל קדומים, p. 17.
„ 85,	בכו עמי	„ שירי שלמה, p. 25.
„ 88,	לא האמין	upon which I have to make a few remarks.

This last-mentioned poem of ten lines is both incomplete and wrongly, I think, ascribed to Gabirol. The whole poem originally consisted of nineteen lines, and was ascribed to no less than three poets. The superscription in our MS. is:—

להר' שלמה ן' ניבירול בר יהודה ז"ל:

Isaac Ibn Latif, in his *אגרת התפלה*, says:—

ועל כל אלה אמר שלמה ע"ה בעל השירים בנעימות שירו הנכבדים בעיני המשיבילים "חברת בהמות כורעה כל יום לקיר היכל ולא ידעה למי כורעת."

The quotation is line 9 of the poem. But see Dukes,

pared to *water coming from a spring*. See extracts from *Meqor Hayyim* in Munk's *Mélanges*, § 64 (p. 34b) and § 71:

והרצון הוא מקור צורת השכל שהיא הצורה השלמה והרצון הוא הפועל לכל והמניע לכל. ודמיון בריאת הבורא ית" וית" לדברים וארצה לאמר יציאת הצורה מהמקור הראשון, והוא הרצון, והשפעתה על היסוד יציאת המים הנובעים ממקורם וכו' בלא הפסק ועמידה.

With this *cp.* § 72:

והתבאר כי הרצון כח אלוהי מפלש (penetrates) בכל, פלוש האור באור, והנפש בנוף, והשכל בנפש.

The מישל is Biblical. *Cp.* Ez. xvi. 44, and its echo in *Kethuboth*, 63a:

כעובדי אִמָּא כר עובדי בְּרָתָא

שירי שלמה, p. 73, where, among the נדחי מליצות, also in התחיה, ii. p. 3, he gives it as a quotation from one of Jehudah Hallevi's poems, probably on the authority of the *Divân* of Jehudah Hallevi in the possession of Luzzatto (*vide Divân*, p. 11, No. 353). Strangely enough, Dukes himself had printed the same poem as the composition of Moses b. Ezra. *Vide Zur Rabb. Spruchkunde*, p. 67. And, earlier still, it was printed by H. Edelman in the *Jewish Chronicle*, vol. v. (1849), p. 351, as the composition of Moses b. Ezra. *Vide* also נחל קדומים, p. 44, § 7. Dukes, *Zur Rabb. Spruchkunde*, p. 67, says that Moses b. Ezra addressed this poem to Meyer b. Kamnial (*vide* Grätz, vi. p. 119). The same poem is attributed to Moses b. Ezra by *MS. Pococke*, 74, Oxf. (Edelman's reprint), and is given anonymously by *Codex De Rossi*, 1183. See also Luzzatto's בתולת בת יהודה, p. 19.

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# JEWISH CONCEPTIONS OF ORIGINAL SIN.

BY THE REV. S. LEVY, M.A.

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It may appear strange to suggest, as is implied by the title of this essay, that there are any Jewish conceptions of Original Sin at all, seeing that it has for so long been assumed and almost regarded as an axiom that the doctrine finds no place in Jewish theology. The Rev. Morris Joseph (*Judaism as Creed and Life*, p. 107) states with pride that Judaism contains no theory of Original Sin, and seemingly condemns its presence in Christianity. "Judaism utterly repudiates such a doctrine as that of Original Sin, which declares that there is something inborn in all men which forces them to do wrong whether they wish it or not." On the other hand, Edersheim (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 1894, i. 52) boasts of the doctrine as the starting-point of Christian theology, and apparently criticises its absence from Judaism. "What may be called the starting-point of Christian theology, the doctrine of hereditary guilt and sin, through the fall of Adam, and of the consequent entire and helpless corruption of our nature, is entirely unknown to Rabbinical Judaism." Thus from different standpoints they both agree, however, that the notion of original sin is entirely unknown in Jewish thought.

It is the object of this paper to endeavour to prove that "it is certainly an exaggeration to assert, as has frequently been represented, that Judaism possessed no doctrine of original sin" (F. R. Tennant, *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall*

and *Original Sin*, p. 232). It will be shown that the Bible and Rabbinical literature contain all the necessary data for a doctrine of original sin,<sup>1</sup> but it will further be indicated in what respects the development of these ideas has differed in the Synagogue and in the Church.

This contention will be the more readily appreciated if we proceed at once to analyse the doctrine of Original Sin into its constituent elements. The principal ideas embodied in the theory may be summarised as follows<sup>2</sup>:—

- (a) There is in human nature an ingrained bias to sin.
- (b) The sinful tendency of man is transmitted by heredity.
- (c) Sin is the cause of suffering. Punishment is the consequence of sin. No suffering without sin.
- (d) The sins of the fathers are visited upon their descendants.
- (e) Adam's act of disobedience is the origin of sin and the cause of death as the punishment for sin, and the reason for the imputation of sin to posterity (Rom. v. 12–21 and 1 Cor. xv. 22).

The Fall of Adam is thus the real, direct, and immediate cause of (a), (b), (c), and (d).

When the implications of the doctrine of Original Sin are thus unfolded, it soon becomes abundantly evident that they suggest almost exact parallels in the Bible or in Rabbinic literature.

- (a) (i.) On the universality of sin, cf. Job iv. 17 (R.V. margin), xiv. 4, xxv. 4; Prov. xx. 9; 1 Kings

<sup>1</sup> Traces of the notion are preserved in the Liturgy. Ps. lxxix. 8 is still retained in the morning and afternoon services for week days: "Remember not against us the iniquities of our ancestors" (*Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 65).

<sup>2</sup> This summary is deduced from *The Thirty-Nine Articles*, § 9, and *Westminster Confession*. Cf. F. R. Tennant, *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*, p. 7, note, and pp. 151–152, 159, and the same author's *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin*, pp. 10, 89, 97, 104.

viii. 46 ; 2 Chron. vi. 36 ; Eccl. vii. 20 ; Ps. xix. 13 (R.V. 12), xc. 9 (R.V. 8), cxxx. 3, cxliii. 2 ; Jer. xvii. 9.<sup>1</sup>

- (ii.) On sin being inherent in man from birth, *cf.* Job xv. 14, 15 ; Ps. li. 5.<sup>2</sup>

In this connection account must also be taken of the notion of *Yezer Hara*. See *Biblical and Semitic Studies*, Yale University, 1901, pp. 93-156, for an able essay by Dr. F. C. Porter on *The Yezer Hara, a Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin*.

- (b) Isa. xliii. 27, 28.<sup>3</sup> For further passages see § (d).

- (c) This principle is discussed, with references, in the following articles: C. G. Montefiore, "Many Moods in the Hebrew Scriptures" (*J. Q. R.*, ii. 155-160), *idem*, "The Doctrine of Divine Retribution in the Old Testament" (*J. Q. R.*, iii. 1-12) ; *idem*, "Hebrew and Greek Ideas of Providence and Divine Retribution" (*J. Q. R.*, v. 517-590) ; *idem*, *The Bible for Home Reading*, pt. ii. pp. 118-120, on the problem of the Book of Job ; and S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, pp. 259-282, on "The Doctrine of Divine Retribution in Rabbinical Literature."

- (d) Exod. xx. 5, xxxiv. 7 ; Lev. xxvi. 40 ; Num. xiv. 18 ; Deut. v. 9-10 ; Hos. i. 4 ; Isa. vii. 17, xiv. 21 ; Obad. 10 ; Jer. xiv. 20, xv. 4, xxii. 28, 30, xxvi. 15, xxxii. 18 ; Lam. v. 7 ; Dan. ix. 16 ; Tobit iii. 3-5 ; Baruch, iii. 5-8. See Tennant, *Sources*, p. 100 ; Cheyne, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*, pp. 346, 353, note *t*.

- (e) Death is assigned as the result of Adam's sin in *Genesis*

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Tennant, *Sources*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pp. 101, 102.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 102, note 2.



*Rabba*, xix;<sup>1</sup> *Baba Bathra*, 17a; *Sabbath*, 55b; *Tanna Debe Elijah Rabba*, v.; Ecclesiasticus xxv. 24<sup>2</sup>; 4 Esdras iii. 7.<sup>3</sup> See also *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Adam" and "Fall."

The introduction of death and grief into the world is ascribed to Eve (*Tal. Jer., Sabbath*, 5b). Cf. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 289.

In the light of all these passages it can scarcely be rigidly maintained that Jewish theology contains no traces of the doctrine that Adam's act of disobedience was the origin of human sin and the primary cause of death.

It should further be borne in mind that in the Midrash the Revelation at Sinai is regarded as having heralded a new era of innocence and immortality. The sin of the Golden Calf thus attains great importance as the first blot on the second age of sinlessness, and as the fresh cause of death. "When they said: These are thy gods, O Israel, death came upon them" (*Exodus Rabba*, xxxii. § 1, cf. § 7). "There is not a misfortune that Israel has suffered which does not contain a small ingredient of retribution for the sin of the Calf" (*T. B. Sanhedrin*, 102a)."<sup>4</sup> Jewish theology may thus substitute the sin of the Golden Calf for Adam's act of disobedience as the origin of sin and death, but the underlying principle in both cases is the same, viz. the effect and influence of a particular transgression on posterity. It is interesting to find Nachmanides, several centuries later, adopting the same method of exegesis, and imputing the penalty of Abraham's sin to Israel in Egypt. "It is on account of this deed [*i.e.*, of passing off Sarah as his sister] that his children had to suffer

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tennant, *Sources*, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, pp. 119, 121.

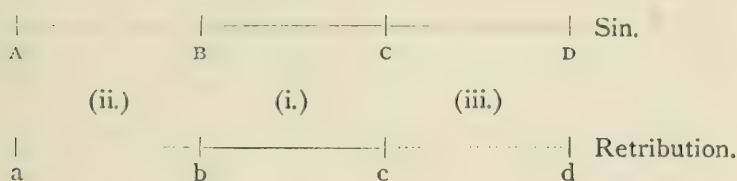
<sup>3</sup> Idem, p. 224.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *J. Q. R.*, xvi. p. 585, in the critical notice of Tennant's *Sources*, by I. Abrahams.

exile under the rule of Pharaoh. Where the sin was committed, there also the judgment took place" (see Nachmanides to Gen. xii. 10).<sup>1</sup>

We must now revert to the third element in the theory of original sin, and discuss at greater length § (c), "no suffering without sin."

The concomitance of sin and retribution may be illustrated by the following diagram<sup>2</sup>:—



- (i.) The earliest notion was that sin [B c] was invariably followed by punishment [b c]. This idea is embodied in the philology of the word  $\pi\epsilon$ , which means both sin and the penalty for sin. Sin and suffering thus become terms simply convertible or correlative. In the first stages of Hebrew thought this parallelism was viewed as complete, and presented no problem to the human mind, for it seemed to breathe a true spirit of divine justice.

But later on it was felt that all the facts were not exhausted in such a proposition. Account had also to be taken of

- (ii.) Suffering [a b] not traceable to sin (the absence of sin is indicated by the broken line A B), and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schechter, *Studies*, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Suggested by the diagram illustrating the relation between mental experience and brain process, in G. Croom Robertson's *Elements of Psychology*, p. 43.

(iii.) Sin [c d] not followed by punishment (the absence of punishment is indicated by the broken line c d).

We thus reach the problem of Job, the Psalmists, and the Prophets, why sometimes the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer.<sup>1</sup> It was because he saw virtue suffering and vice triumphant that Elisha ben Abuja became an apostate (*Kid-dushin*, 39b; *Chulin*, 142).

Pure and simple faith makes no effort to solve such difficulties. It implicitly relies upon the divine justice, which, it says, cannot be followed by mortal understanding. R. Jannai said, "It is not in our power to explain either the prosperity of the wicked or the afflictions of the righteous."<sup>2</sup> But the human mind as a rule is not satisfied with such a tame ending, and refuses to confess itself baffled without a keen struggle. Hence it follows that we can trace attempts to prove that, inasmuch as the sequence B C and b c is certain, we must, according to the principle of continuity, regard the sequences A B and a b, and c D and c d, as inferential, and explain the breakdown in the connection between sin and suffering as appearance and not reality.

The first method adopted to show that the concomitance is complete, equal, and parallel, was the introduction of ancestry and the theory of social solidarity. According to this view, in (ii.) A B a b we find the righteous suffering because of the sins of their fathers [עון אבות, "the sins of the fathers," is one of the elements in the notion of original sin, see above, § (d)], and in (iii.) c D c d the sinners go unpunished because of the virtues of their fathers (זכות אבות).<sup>3</sup> But this solution was

<sup>1</sup> See A. S. Peake, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, and the review of this work in *The Hibbert Journal*, April 1905.

<sup>2</sup> *Ethics of the Fathers*, iv. 19. *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> See my paper on "The Doctrine of Original Virtue," in *The Jewish Literary Annual*, 1905, pp. 13-32.

not accepted as entirely satisfactory, because it struck a blow at individual responsibility and individual deserts, and still savoured of divine injustice.

With the growth of the notion of a future state, a second solution was suggested. It was recognised that no theory of sin could result in the faultless demonstration of the invariable sequence of sin and suffering. The doctrine of immortality was therefore employed to fill in the gaps necessary to establish a perfect parallelism. This world gives us but an incomplete view. To justify the scheme of the universe we must assume another state where reward and punishment are commensurate with virtue and sin. In *Taanith*, 11a, the theory of a future state is used to explain the discrepancies in the following way:—

- (a) The retribution of the righteous takes place in this world.
- (β) The retribution of the wicked is reserved for the world to come.
- (γ) The reward of the wicked is dealt out in this world.
- (δ) The reward of the righteous is reserved for the world to come.

The same idea occurs in another form in *Baba Kamma*, 50b. "Why is the dual used in the expression אַרְךְּ אַפַּיִם? Because God is longsuffering both towards the righteous and the wicked. He is longsuffering towards the righteous in that He requites them in this world for the few sins which they have committed, so that they may receive their full reward in the world to come. He is longsuffering to the wicked in that He gives them ease in this world, and thus requites them for the few good deeds which they have done, in order to exact the full penalty of their sins in the world to come."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See C. G. Montefiore, "Rabbinic Conceptions of Repentance," *J. Q. R.*, xvi. pp. 232, 233.

The theory of the "sins of the fathers," § (d), must now receive a little fuller treatment.<sup>1</sup>

The first and most natural impulse was to rebel against the injustice of the doctrine that the sins of the guilty should be visited upon their innocent descendants. Hence in the Bible itself we find a tendency to soften the severity of the principle by laying greater stress on God's loving-kindness (חסד לאֲלֵפִים) and minimising the application of "the sins of the fathers" (עון אבות). Thus in Jer. xxxii. 18, we find the order of the two principles reversed, חסד אבות taking precedence over עון אבות, and in Ps. ciii. 17, עון אבות is entirely omitted, and only the passage relating to God's loving-kindness is retained. Further, in other passages there is to be found a growing insistence on individual responsibility. See Exod. xxxii. 33; Deut. vii. 10, xxiv. 16; Amos ix. 8.<sup>2</sup> But even more striking is the formal repudiation of "the sins of the fathers" in Jer. xxxi. 28, 29 [R.V. 29, 30] and Ezek. xviii. 2-4, 20, and the definite assertion of the theory, "The soul that sinneth it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son."<sup>3</sup>

In the Talmud and the Midrash the softening process is more gradual and less abrupt than in the Bible. First, the doctrine of "the sins of the fathers" is defended as being in reality an instance of God's loving-kindness. For, whereas the punishment of evil-doers only extends to the third and fourth generation, the mercy shown to the righteous is transmitted to the thousandth generation (see *Mechilta* to Exod. xx. 5, ed. Friedmann, 68*b*. Cf. Nachmanides, *ad loc.*). Regarded as a token of God's grace, the evil atavism spends

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. M. Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, pp. 250-251; S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, pp. 265 ff; and C. G. Montefiore, *Bible*, pt. i., 423, 468, 472-474.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tennant, *Sources*, p. 100, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> See C. G. Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1892, pp. 219, 220.



itself by the fourth generation, but the good atavism is never exhausted, and asserts itself even in the thousandth generation. The *Mechilta* recognises, however, that a difficulty still remains in the fact that the sins of the guilty *are* nevertheless visited upon innocent descendants, at all events to the third and the fourth generation. Hence the further mitigation in the *Mechilta*, that the sins of the father are only visited upon the children when three successive generations are given over to sin without a virtuous generation intervening to break the continuity of guilt. Then, in *Sanhedrin*, 27*b*, we get the idea more clearly enunciated that "the sins of the fathers" is not a *doom*, but merely a tendency, which can be yielded to or checked,<sup>1</sup> and that the sins of the fathers and the virtues of the fathers are only visited upon the children, when the children continue the deeds of their parents (כִּשְׂאוֹהוּזִין מַעֲשֵׂה (אֲבוֹתֵיהֶן בִּידֵיהֶן). "Evil and good come not out of the mouth of the Most High (Lam. iii. 38), but they are self-determined. Evil cometh upon evil-doers, and good cometh upon them that do good" (*Deut. Rabba*, iv. § 3 to ראה). And finally, in *Makkoth*, 24*a*, as in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, we reach the explicit abandonment of "the sins of the fathers" and the formulation of individual responsibility. "Moses founded four institutions, and four prophets arose and annulled them. . . . Moses said, God visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children (Exod. xxxiv. 7). Ezekiel came and annulled it by saying, The soul that sinneth it shall die (Ezek. xviii. 4)." In a variant version in *Bamidbar Rabba*, xix. § 33, this alteration is made by God at the instigation of Moses.

This rough outline of the sources of Jewish conceptions of Original Sin has already betrayed, *en passant*, some hints of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Morris Joseph, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

difference of the development of the doctrine in Judaism and Christianity.

In the first place we have just seen that Jewish theology does not deny, but very firmly maintains the principle of individual responsibility and the freedom of the will. "Talmudic literature insists on a man's capacity to control his evil inclination, mighty as it is. There is no hint that his free will is diminished in consequence of the sin of his first parents; and herein lies the main difference between the spirit of the teaching of the Synagogue and that of the Church. The Rabbis recognised, of course, the general sinfulness of humanity, but yet maintained the theoretical possibility of sinlessness, and indeed held that in some cases this had actually been attained" (Tennant, *Sources*, p. 175; *cf.* also p. 176). In this respect, the Jewish notion of Original Sin was arrested in its progress, and escaped taking the extreme form of determinism it adopted in Christian thought. Like an unfinished railway track, it was brought to an abrupt and untimely end in a siding on the brink of a precipice which led to loss of self-control and would end in moral disaster.

In the second place, Jewish notions of Original Sin were always tempered by the saving doctrine of repentance (see *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Adam"). "If a man comes and says, God does not receive the penitent, then Manasseh the son of Hezekiah will come and testify that no creature in the world sinned against Me as he did, and yet in the hour of his repentance I received him" (*Bamidbar Rabba*, xiv. § 1).

The consideration of the question whether the Church took over the Jewish conceptions of Original Sin and developed them on independent lines, and then Judaism consciously protested against the Christian teaching by emphasising the principles of free will and repentance, or whether, as suggested

by Tennant (*Sources*, p. 343), the doctrine of the Fall, as a whole, had to be deduced afresh in the Church, is beyond the scope of this essay.

Suffice it here to have established that in the earliest Christian centuries Judaism possessed certain definite theories of Original Sin, and to have briefly indicated the different evolution the doctrine underwent in the Synagogue and in the Church.

Just as the Jewish doctrine of Original Virtue was happily saved from becoming unduly elating and relaxing by the concomitant insistence on individual righteousness,<sup>1</sup> so the Jewish doctrine of Original Sin was preserved from becoming unnecessarily depressing and fatalistic by the accompanying assertion of the freedom of the will and the power of repentance. "There is nothing greater than repentance; repentance is second to the Law."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my essay on "The Doctrine of Original Virtue," already referred to, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Debarim Rabba*, ii. § 24, beginning; *Bamidbar Rabba*, ii. § 10. See C. G. Montefiore, "Rabbinic Conceptions of Repentance," *loc. cit.* p. 257.

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## WHERE THE CLERGY FAIL.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT QUEEN SQUARE HOUSE ON  
SUNDAY, JAN. 17TH, 1904, BY THE REV. S. SINGER, AS  
HON. PRESIDENT OF JEWS' COLLEGE UNION SOCIETY.

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In the Romanes Lecture for 1896, the late Bishop of London, Dr. Mandell Creighton, relates how, on one occasion, when he was a Fellow of his College, conversation at dinner turned upon university life. In a pause, one who had until then been silent, addressed the only stranger present thus: "I think you ought to know that in Oxford we are all so well acquainted with one another's good qualities that we only talk about those points which are capable of amendment." I might give a similar reason for my choice of subject for the address it is my duty and privilege to deliver as Hon. President of the Jews' College Union. To dwell upon the merits and successes of the clergy would be a work of supererogation; we all know them. Our time can, therefore, be more profitably employed in directing our attention to some of the points in which they fail to come up to, I will not say an ideal standard, but to the requirements of a fair and sober conception of what the clerical office demands. And though there is a certain difficulty, there is also a certain advantage, in a clergyman speaking on this topic to others who are, or are to be, members of the same profession as himself. He can mingle experience with observation, criticism with confession.

Let me admit forthwith that it is in the very nature of things that any man occupying the position of a minister of

religion, I care not who he is, must fail often and lamentably. The character and the magnitude of his office make that result inevitable. The well-nigh universal rule among all denominations of having a body of men trained and recognised as leaders in religion, and our own familiarity with the fact itself within the limits of our own community, may blunt our appreciation of what the name of clergyman properly stands for. But can we blind ourselves to the solemn issues involved in the existence of such a profession as the clergy? How is any one man entitled to be considered more a servant of God than any other? Can we, rightly speaking, justify such a differentiation of functions, in Judaism at least? And admitting, for the sake of argument, that religious teachers must form a profession by themselves, because what is everybody's business is nobody's business, what vast and varied, what rare and lofty qualifications are needed to make the true clergyman! Among all professions, that of the clergy stands in need of knowledge the fullest, of sympathy the deepest, of unselfishness the most perfect, of character the most spotless. I do not know if any of my clerical colleagues lay claim to all these qualifications, or if any of their generous friends or admiring relations do so for them. For myself, whenever I think of it, I marvel at my own temerity. Had I not been so young when I entered upon this sacred calling, I doubt if later I should have had the courage to do so.

In no other profession is the temptation to vanity so great. A young man, generally at an age when he would be very unlikely to have any mundane business of importance entrusted to him, is suddenly raised to a position that places him on a spiritual elevation above the greater number of his brethren. He is conscious that all eyes are focussed upon him. In office he is arrayed in a distinctive uniform. Out of office he wears a garb usually closely copied from the pre-



vailing fashion of the dominant Church. He has assigned to him a distinctive title of honour and reverence. He leads the devotions of his people. He addresses with a certain note of authority, without contradiction or interruption, assemblies of men and women, many of whom are old enough to be his parents or grandparents, and not a few who are at least his equals in intellectual power and attainments. He has also, perhaps, a number of ardent unreasoning admirers. In short, he blossoms out all at once into a personage whose very office is regarded as a token that its incumbent is a man of more than ordinary wisdom and virtue. It is no wonder if Satan, in the form of vanity, lays siege to his soul, and puts him in perils from which nothing but innate strength of character and the grace of God can deliver him. Even when he grows older, the old besetting sin is not always cast behind him.

If a parable could cure people of conceit, the following from the Russo-Jewish fabulist, Gordon, ought to do it. When the Philistines wished to send back the captured ark of Israel, they placed it in a cart, and to the cart they harnessed a couple of cows. Behind marched the lords of the Philistines. And the cows, making their way to Beth-Shemesh, lowing as they went, noticed that wherever they passed the Israelites came to meet them, rejoicing, and paying them honour, and bowing down before them. Then said the cows to each other: "We are no ordinary cows; look how the people are reverencing us; we must be divine." But they knew not, silly creatures, that it was not to them that men bowed down and paid homage, but to the precious treasure they were carrying. And when the cows came to the field of Joshua the Beth-Shemite, the people took possession of the ark, but the cows they slaughtered and offered them up as a burnt-offering.

So, many a vain synagogue functionary, holding the Law aloft, and seeing the congregation bowing down before him,

is uplifted in his own esteem, and deems himself more than a common mortal ; but he considers not, foolish man, that not to him is this homage paid, but to the Torah, and after it is taken from him he is accounted a thing of nought. The parallel halts somewhat at the end, for the fate of the cows does not overtake the vain precentor, but it is close enough in other respects for those who have eyes to see.

It is a frequent complaint that clergymen are not always treated with the respect due to their calling. But what if it should be found that they themselves fail to treat their calling with the respect due to it ? Can they complain if those whom they are supposed to instruct not only learn from them, but better the instruction ? Take the performance of the sacred offices of the synagogue. These admit of two vicious extremes, though which of the two is more fatal to clerical dignity—not to speak of higher and more important interests—I am not prepared to decide. There is perfunctoriness at the one end. A man is soon found out whose idea of service in the sanctuary is something to be got through with as little preparation as possible beforehand, and with as little cost as possible of thought during the actual process. The disinclination to concentrate the whole mind and heart on the act of worship for the time being ; the tendency to what, in the Rabbinic discipline, is so often referred to, and condemned as “Heseach Hadaath,” is a defect that may need struggling against even in the best of us ; but if it be not resisted, especially during the earlier and formative period of a clergyman’s life, the effect will be sure to make itself apparent in his every unguarded look and tone and gesture. What is *in* him will show *through* him. And it will sink into the very soul of the laity, who will consider themselves justified in treating their minister as little better than a praying machine ; though just because he is a living, and not an inanimate, machine, they will decline to

regard him with the holy awe with which the Tibetan regards that other curious apparatus of worship—his praying wheel.

And, as with the offices of prayer and praise, so with the responsible task of preaching. All perfunctoriness in this sacred work ; all inadequate, slovenly, indolent preparation for preaching ; all listless, lifeless, soulless, senseless sermons, will have to be paid for in the loss of the esteem of your hearers. Vain is it to complain of this. We reap as we have sown.

But there is the other vicious extreme, and the mischief it does is not easily calculated. Is it surprising that clergymen should fail to secure the respect of those whose respect is worth having, if they make the sanctuary and the Divine service the place and the occasion of personal display ? All "showing off" in voice and manner, all histrionic tricks, all ostentation and affectation, all simulated or artificially stimulated emotion, are an abomination in the sight of those who know and can judge. To whom, one is often forced to ask, does the precentor or the preacher address his prayers in synagogue—to God or to the congregation ? That question was answered in an account, of which I have heard, of a great religious meeting held in Boston some time ago. The reporter, by a touch of inspiration, described the prayer offered up by the Rev. Dr. Blank as "one of the most beautiful and effective prayers ever delivered to a Boston audience." Every form of display argues unreality, and unreality, however disguised, leaves the heart unconvinced, and, need one say, unconverted. When Rabbi Zera was appointed to his sacred office, they greeted him with snatches of a bridal song : "No cosmetics, no rouge, no hair-curling, but yet what a graceful gazelle !"

A clerical caste is a national calamity. But clergymen themselves are the greatest losers if a barrier is allowed to grow up between them and the laity. Such a thing did not

exist in olden times. Nor, happily, does it always exist in modern days. Mr. Claude Montefiore, in his tribute to Dr. P. F. Frankl, the Berlin Rabbi, refers to him as one of the ministers to whom one could speak not only as to a clergyman, but as to a man. Yet it is, unfortunately, too true that the clergyman is often the last man to whom a layman will open his heart.

One reason why we often fail to convince, or even to impress, those to whom we minister, is that we make no sufficient effort to get at the layman's point of view on religious questions. We deal with these questions in a professional way—a way which does not appeal to the non-professional mind. We may, possibly, be grasping the truth, but we hold it in such a manner that others do not and cannot see it, and we leave upon them the impression that we have not really got hold of it ourselves, but are only engaged in a piece of make-believe. It is good, therefore, to put ourselves into frequent and close communication with the best minds of the laity, to study their difficulties, even to ask for suggestions as to matters in which they wish for light and help from the pulpit. I believe that many a lay sermon might teach a congregation of clergymen more than many a clerical sermon teaches a congregation of laymen. Anyhow, it is of vital consequence that we should be familiar with both points of view. The genial Professor at the Breakfast Table speaks of "the parallax of thought and feeling as they appear to the observers from two very different points of view." "If," he says, "you wish to get the distance of a heavenly body, you know that you must take two observations from remote points of the earth's orbit, in midwinter and midsummer, for instance. To get the parallax of heavenly truths you must take an observation from the position of the laity, as well as of the clergy. Teachers and students of theology



get a certain look, certain tones of the voice, a clerical gait, a professional neckcloth, and habits of mind as professional as their externals." It is these habits we ought to strive to correct, and in proportion as we succeed in this, in the same proportion our usefulness will increase as religious teachers.

Do not, however, from what I have just said, fall into the opposite error of imagining that the whole drift and character of your teaching is to be guided and shaped by the will of one or two masterful members of the congregation. In every synagogue there are a few such masterful ones, but unless a man has a conscience which is more sacred to him than his skin, he may be driven to play false with his highest ideals simply from dread of displeasing the influential Mr. So-and-So. No clergyman is more despicable than he who, afraid to say what he thinks, says just what he thinks other people expect him to think. Of such a one the Scripture says, "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully."

There is another temptation to which young preachers, and I fear some who are no longer young, sometimes succumb. It is to preach in order to show how clever they are. Learning, well-assimilated learning—not chunks of undigested quotations—is, of course, of the very essence of a good sermon. (I owe an apology for making so obvious a remark in Jews' College, and before men who have studied homiletics under Mr. Israel Abrahams.) But the difference between the scholar and the showman is seen nowhere more clearly than in the pulpit, and deliberately to utilise the pulpit in order to let people know what a lot of things you know is, to say the least, offensive. Equally offensive and objectionable is the tendency to say smart things, so that you may get yourself talked of, and impose upon your hearers by your ingenuity. It would be a good thing if all such efforts were rewarded as were those of a candidate for the ministry who hoped to make



a sensation by preaching his trial sermon on the word *but*. He took his text from 2 Kings v. 1 : "Now Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria, was a great man with his master, and honourable ; he was also a mighty man in valour, but he was a leper." The preacher's object was to show that the greatest men had their trials and their defects. Men might be this and they might be that, *but* there was always something against them. And the preacher prided himself not a little on his cleverness in delivering a whole sermon round a simple conjunction like "but." Of course, he was no Hebraist, for, as all here know, the Hebrew original is innocent of any "but." It runs simply : "And the man was a mighty man in valour, a leper," the connective being omitted by the rhetorical figure known as asyndeton. But trifles like these do not affect some homilists. When he had finished, and met the wardens and others in the vestry, they said to him, "Well, sir, you have certainly preached a very remarkable sermon, *but* you are not the man to suit this place ; that is all we have to say to you."

You say, perhaps, "But Jewish congregations have such bad taste in sermons." Supposing it to be the case that the taste of an average congregation among us is bad—and I am not prepared to deny it—it is the minister's duty to raise and improve it, and no amount of praise we may evoke for our performance is a compensation for the feeling that, in our desire to tickle people's fancy, or to pander to their prejudices, we have been unfaithful to the highest we knew.

It is the fashion nowadays to disparage preaching. In how far the clergy have themselves contributed to this result it is not for me to say, but I want, in this place above all, most emphatically to impress upon those who will before long be my colleagues in the ministry, and will, I trust, live to do great honour to it, that nothing can take the place of the

preacher's work in the service of the sanctuary. Chazanuth is good ; secretarial work is good ; visiting the poor and sick is good ; attending meetings for communal purposes is good ; begging for synagogues, charities, and schools is good, if unpleasant ; making yourself amiable all round is good and pleasant ; but with all these the great work for which men enter the ministry must not be lost sight of—it is in order, with all the force of a well-stored mind and highly trained intellect, and a profound moral conviction and purpose, to teach the Word of God to their brethren, young and old ; to help them to the perception of the highest truths of religion ; to uplift their souls out of the rut of the common, the sordid, the selfish, in life ; to speak a message of comfort to the sorrowing, of hope to the despondent, of counsel to the perplexed, of courage to the struggling and aspiring.

Make no mistake about this. Preaching is not only the most important, it is the most difficult—good preaching, I mean, is the most difficult, the most arduous, the most exacting of all a clergyman's duties, and on that account alone an honest minister will not shirk it, or treat it as a light thing, but will put his heart and soul into it ; will take care his flock shall be fed with the best, the purest, the most nutritious food it is in his power to supply. I do not for a moment underrate the other parts of a clergyman's duties, but unless he is prepared to fail as a religious influence, he must realise in all moral earnestness that he is, with all his defects, the nearest approach our day provides to the prophets of old, and that the distinctive function of the prophet was to speak out from *his* heart to the heart of his people.

If the glory that rests upon a minister of religion is often more than he deserves, the burden of responsibility that is laid upon him is sometimes more than he is fitted to bear. It is a fearful thing to think that for whatever goes wrong,

morally or religiously, with his flock, he is held primarily answerable. Against such a sweeping condemnatory judgment he may at times justly protest. One result of his labours there is, however, for which he cannot repudiate, or even attenuate, his responsibility. No man, let us remember, ever leaves the house of worship exactly as he enters it; he is either better or worse for his visit. For Heaven's sake, my brothers, and for the sake of our own honour and conscience, let no one, through aught we may have done or said, quit that house a worse man than he entered it.

But though a clergyman's influence culminates in the synagogue, it is not there that the foundation of it is laid. For him service begins long before he reaches the door of the sanctuary. It is impossible to separate a man's preaching from his life. Laymen have an infallible instinct in this matter. "A man's life," says Canon Newbolt, "follows him into the pulpit, and his sermon is a palimpsest on another writing, only imperfectly obliterated to the eyes of those who have become acquainted with it during the week." The whole scheme of a Jewish minister's duty is set out before us in one sentence of Holy Writ: "Now Ezra prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments."

Of all a preacher's sins, the one for which pardon is hardest to obtain is preaching at inordinate length. Not many of us, I fear, have a perfectly clean record in that respect. What is long or short in a sermon depends, of course, to a great extent, upon the appetite of your congregation. There are people, our own people, too—need I say they are not English Jews?—who do not object to sit for two or three hours at a homiletic meal. But very few of us are likely to have to cater for such a congregation. And very few of us, to speak candidly, have the right to speak at great length. It is all very well to

plead, "But I must do justice to my subject." In doing justice to our subject are we excused showing mercy to our hearers? Besides, what is the use of talking of justice to our subject when the jury will not listen, and become impatient, irritable, and irate? Is not that the very way to prevent justice being done to our subject? A barrister who acted in that manner would soon be left without clients.

Every now and then the question is started as to which is the right mode of presenting a sermon. Sermons, it has been said, are produced either by the viviparous or the oviparous mode—terms intended to denote the production of a discourse by a direct or living birth (*extempore*), and the production of it by the process of the written composition, the manuscript representing the egg. I do not think any hard and fast line can be laid down on the subject. Different men have different faculties. Each method has something in its favour, and something against it. That, however, the weight of evidence is on the side of the *extempore* discourse as the more effective with the masses, there can be no doubt. I say "*extempore*," not what our foreign brethren call "*memorised*" sermons. I do not think the most consummate pulpit artist ever gets rid of the artificial ring in a sermon learned by rote. At all events, any other pulpit artist, consummate or not, can detect it; and the essential difference between the man who preaches from notes, and the one who preaches by heart, is that the one has his manuscript on his pulpit, and the other has it in his desk. For my own part, I have never listened to that kind of sermon without recalling the lines:—

"They say he has no heart, but I deny it;  
He has a heart, and gets his speeches by it."

Thrice favoured of the gods is he who has a genuine gift of *extempore* speech. Let him cultivate it with care, yea, with fear and trembling. The gift has insidious dangers of its



own. It may inflate some men with pride to be praised, as the new curate was praised by the old lady: "Mr. Tawkaway, I do love to hear you preach. You speak all extrumpery, and your language is so fluid." But it is a mighty instrument of power in the mouth of a man with brains in his head. The subject well thought out, prepared, and ordered; the word free—there is the ideal. The greatest preacher I ever heard, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, adopted that method. Before him lay the plan and outline of his discourse, to which ever and anon he would refer; his system of division, of articulation of parts, was in itself a revelation in homiletic art; but, to watch how, under the magic of his treatment, his "skeleton," as preachers call it, became a thing of flesh and blood, a marvellous organic whole, living, breathing, throbbing with every human emotion, aglow with spiritual fire—to watch all this was enough to ravish you, and, if you happened to be young, with some pretensions to be a preacher yourself, the happy prerogative of youth—was enough to humiliate you.

Such magicians are rare. If some of us are not among them, let us comfort ourselves with the thought that men like Stanley and Newman held the attention and reached the very heart of their hearers, though they read every word of their sermons, without the least attempt at oratory, and that the discourses, unequalled in their day, of the Scotch divine, Dr. Thomas Chalmers, and of the great English preacher, Canon Liddon, were delivered straight from the manuscript before them. These examples ought to suffice to convince us that, providing the subject of the lecture is interesting, the matter sound, and the construction good, the fact that it is not memorised or spoken extempore is no bar to its being rendered acceptable to your hearers, or to its being delivered with all requisite energy and fire. Still, I am bound to confess that if my time came over again, and if I had gifts which I do



not possess, and if I were wiser than I am, I should in this, and in many other things, do differently from what I have done.

A great deal is made of the gift or the absence of the gift of a good voice. I am convinced that the value of the voice element is grossly exaggerated as an item in a preacher's success or failure. Some of the greatest speakers have had inferior voices, but they knew what to do with such an instrument as was theirs, and often, despite natural defects, learned to be clear in speech as they already were in thought. Gladstone, asked who was the best speaker he had ever heard, said Richard Lalor Sheil, although it was notorious that Sheil had a high-pitched and singularly unpleasant voice. Dr. Joel, the Philosopher-Rabbi of Breslau, had a curious sort of cavernous voice, but his preaching found its way effectually to men's minds and hearts, because it was luminous with the pure light of the most logical reasoning, and touched with a live coal from the altar of the Lord. Where our preachers so often fail is that they do not know what to do with the voice they have. They drawl or bawl, they mumble and mough, they persistently refuse to come out from behind their own noses, or they imagine that to be impressive they must never preach in their own natural week-a-day, work-a-day voices. A frequent result of this strained and artificial use of the voice is—apart altogether from its effect upon the congregation—"Clergyman's sore throat." If I had my way, I would have every minister of a synagogue, who was medically certified as suffering from clergyman's sore throat, fined a week's stipend. It would be cheapest in the end, and most merciful to all parties.

And here I might, in an elder-brotherly spirit, offer you a few cautions you may find of service when you are actively engaged in pastoral work. Feed your flock with food that is

convenient for them. Don't talk over people's heads. Take the advice of an old preacher, and don't address your flock as if they were a herd of giraffes. Be not over lavish in the use of figures, and images, and tropes. They are dangerous things to deal with in quantities, and they often fall out with one another, making sad havoc of such sense as you may have put into your sermon. Don't mistake a florid style for eloquence and grace. Besides, it does not suit the English taste, and is usually an outrage upon the English language. That preacher was a fortunate man who, before he had got to his second sermon, received from a candid friend a line cut out of a newspaper column of death advertisements, "No flowers, by request," and took the hint. Do not get into the habit of scolding people in the pulpit, whether they be present or absent. The absent don't know, and the present, after a while, don't care. Reserve rebuke for rare occasions, and it will be more effective. The *Tochachah* is only read twice a year.

Don't, in the name of pastoral decency, air your personal grievances in the pulpit. It is taking your people at an unfair advantage. Be careful never to take direct notice of what you imagine is rudeness shown to you during the service. Here is an item out of my own experience. When I delivered my trial sermon at the first synagogue to which I was appointed, I noticed that, though on the whole people listened with a kindly attention, one man, sitting in a front row, from the very beginning looked contemptuously at me, and seemed on the point of laughing aloud. My most passionate and pathetic periods left him apparently untouched, an unregenerate scoffer. The more I pleaded, the more grossly amused he seemed. I was on the point of protesting against the insult, but either my good angel or the fear of "losing the thread of my discourse" restrained me, and I descended from the pulpit with

mingled emotions, some that could not be classed as clerical. After service I protested to the authorities. But they only smiled, and said, "Why, that was mad So-and-So; nobody minds him. He is in the charge of Mr. ——." Upon inquiring why so prominent a place was given him, I was told that the new synagogue grew out of the old, and took over everything from the old, the congregation being strictly conservative. I was unconvinced by the argument, but I was devoutly grateful for having been saved from the indiscretion of bandying words from the pulpit with a harmless idiot.

How ill advised retaliation from the pulpit is may be learnt from the report of a case in a police court a week or so ago. The senior curate of a church near Cardiff summoned the local doctor for assault. The clergyman, it appears, had, in a sermon, referred to Oliver Cromwell as a murderer, and to Charles I. as a sainted martyr. The doctor had not so read his history. This fundamental difference of view upon two points on which universal agreement seems unobtainable led to considerable ill-feeling. The doctor conveyed his opinion of the curate by coming late to church, talking with his wife during the service, and interrupting, at times, with a loud and satirical "Amen," especially after the words from the Litany, "From envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness deliver us." Thereupon the clergyman turned to his congregation and said: "It is a pity that people not only come to church late, but also disturb the service." They met in the vestry, and angry words ensued between them. When they got outside, the doctor offered to fight the curate, and asked him to nominate two gentlemen as seconds. The latter made no reply, and the doctor then struck him on the neck with his clenched fist. In the result the defendant was fined twenty shillings and costs, but the plaintiff fared far worse, for not only did he obtain no credit for his efforts to preserve the

peace, but he was severely rebuked by the Bench for having said what he did, and was told that his observation was a most unfortunate one for a clergyman to make, having regard to the personal feeling which existed between him and the doctor. The chief moral from this true tale seems to be, that in contests of this kind, whatever the apparent result, a clergyman always loses more than he gains.

The only occasion on which I allow myself anything like retaliation (if I may be forgiven for again drawing upon my own experience) is when some irrepressible congregant, having before him a Hebrew Pentateuch, provided with vowel points and accents, dodges around me with irresponsible voice, while I am trying my utmost to read the Sedrah correctly out of the Sepher Torah. I am but a mediocre Baal Koreh, but I like to be left alone to work my way through all intricacies and difficulties, and when I am interrupted and led on the wrong tack by my prompter, whose key is always different from my own, and who, as a rule, can read neither the notes nor the words accurately, I sometimes stop suddenly, and let him roll along a little, all alone, and by his own impetus. Two or three such breaks usually leave me in undisputed possession of the field. I hope there is not much harm in such conduct. I regard it as a legitimate form of "passive resistance."

No doubt clergymen, like other mortals, have a good deal to put up with from all sorts of peculiar people. There are the faddists and the fussy, and the cavillers, the self-important, the petty, the unduly exacting, the seemingly unsatisfiable. They are all very irritating, no doubt. But a little self-restraint, tact, and good humour on our part will go a long way to make us proof against vexations that are very seldom intentionally inflicted, and we shall live to make friends of those we once deemed "impossible" persons, and discover



that there is some good in them after all, even although they did not recognise the good in us at first sight.

In the long run—though I know the risk to which I expose myself in making this dogmatic assertion—in the long run all constituencies on a democratic basis get the representatives they deserve. So also congregations, with their free electoral system, get the ministers they deserve, or at least those they want. Conversely, all candidates for clerical offices get—but no, gentlemen, I am not going to expose myself to a fierce volley from all my friends and foes upon whom fortune has not yet benignantly shone, or between whose estimate of themselves and the estimate formed of them by congregations there is a regrettable disharmony. Perhaps, I may more conveniently state the case in the form of an anecdote. A clergyman, of the impatient and not over modest order, was once bewailing his fate to a friend. “Isn’t mine a pitiable case?” he said. “I don’t seem to make any impression upon my congregation. Week after week I have to preach to nothing but a lot of asses.” “Well,” replied his friend, “you must admit you have got what you deserve.” “But I don’t admit it.” “Yes, you do; don’t you regularly address that lot of asses as ‘my dear brethren’?”

To hold your people, and to lead them, you must seek them, and generally outside the synagogue. Visiting among our congregants is one of the most important, as well as most agreeable, branches of our work, though it is also one that grows ever more difficult. Only too well we know how neglect of it lessens our chances of usefulness.

I suppose there are very few who can take credit to themselves for doing this part of their task thoroughly. A clergyman must often decide between a variety of claims upon his time and energies, and, providing he is not downright self-indulgent and slothful, it is to be hoped that his people will



judge him leniently. However, in visiting among his people, a sensible clergyman will be careful not to obtrude his own personality. He will be so interested in his flock that he will sink all thought of the shepherd. Least of all will he allow it to be thought that he has done an act of condescension. There are men in clerical garb who imagine that the chief thing they have to do when they call upon the members of their congregation is to hold forth about their precious selves, about what they know, and have done, or about the wrongs they have suffered, and the wilful blindness of those who cannot recognise in them what they so manifestly are—stars of the first magnitude. All this is shockingly bad pastoral manners.

So, too, is the clerical habit of trying to monopolise the conversation on these occasions. Clergymen do it quite unconsciously. Of course, you may be a great talker. Many a man who can't preach a sermon to save his life can talk enough to shorten other people's. But we shall all do well to remember that the visited should be encouraged to speak their minds, and open their hearts, to the visitor. You must not even mind their saying, supposing the subject to turn on religion, "I don't profess to be an orthodox Jew, and I hope I shall not shock you, but my idea of religion is——." Then comes your opportunity, if you only know how wisely to avail yourself of it. Anyhow, you may take it that the golden rule for all social intercourse, both lay and clerical, is: "In conversation the exchange should always be at par."

One matter there is upon which turns far oftener than is suspected the success or failure of a clergyman's career. It is a matter which I believe is not dealt with in the usual treatises on pastoral theology, and about which, I am sure—though I have not made particular inquiries upon the subject—nothing is taught in the curriculum of the students of this institution.

I refer to the minister's choice of a wife. Everybody has heard the old Rabbinic adages about "Ezer" and "Kenegdo," that, according to a man's deserts, or the lack of them, so is his wife to him a help or a hindrance, and about "Matsa" and "Motsa," that "a woman makes or mars her husband." True enough in their general application, with no class of the community are they more true than with the clergy. Since, in the Jewish pastorate, celibacy is not regarded as a qualification, importance attaches to the shepherdess, as well as to the shepherd. In how many ways can she directly and indirectly help forward her husband's work, and contribute to the welfare and progress of his flock! In the social sphere, failure in which may seriously cripple a clergyman's general usefulness, who does not know that she is the predominant partner? If she is sensible enough not to consider the whole world in league against her husband because people do not fall down and worship him, how often may she save him, too, from making a fool of himself. Few clergymen who have been fortunate enough to have made even a moderate success of their careers, will hesitate to acknowledge to what human co-operation that success has been, in great measure, due. But this is for the maturer clergy, who have already "built their house and planted their vineyard."

Let my last words be words of brotherly counsel to my younger colleagues, those whose period of apprenticeship seems so long and hard to them, to take heart of grace, and not consider their career a failure because their work is done in an inconspicuous and contracted sphere. The community is getting more and more capable of appreciating true worth in its ministers. Its judgment is growing, and, I believe, its taste is improving. For its own sake it will be careful to select the most fitting instruments. You won't be left for ever to do inferior work, if you are fit

for superior. "The stone that is fit for the wall will not be left in the roadway," says an Eastern proverb. "No man is chosen for great things until he has been tried in little."

But is not the division into great and little altogether misleading, and unworthy of us when we speak of the work we are permitted to do for God and His people? Let me cite to you a passage out of one of the ordination addresses of Dr. Stubbs, late Bishop of Oxford. With the change of a word or two, you will find them perfectly applicable to the case of Jewish ministers, whose lot it is to be bound to the wheel of clerical routine and drudgery:—

"Under the weariness of intensely prosaic routine, under the repulsiveness of unvaried commonplace, quite as much as in the stirring, stimulating, struggling energy of open combat, the servant of the Lord finds his errand and his reward. The daily visit to the village school, the ever-recurring need of trying to make the things that are to be made clearer to children clearer to yourself; the daily visiting of the people, trying to get them to see that their cares, their burdens, their sorrows, and their sins, are cares, burdens, sorrows, sins, on your own heart and conscience, but ending, in nine cases out of ten, nine days out of ten, in the simplest exchange of civil words and the maintenance of familiar acquaintanceship; the daily looking over the pages of the Bible, which are as familiar to you as your own thoughts, and in danger of becoming quite as immaterial; the daily performance, if you do perform them, of the prescribed offices of devotion; the hammering out of sermons, which, whilst you write them, seem to lose all chance of touching the hearts of those for whom you mean them, and to become cold and humdrum as the ink dries, which yet He may direct to the heart of the hearer; is it not one test of your mission, your fitness, and your earnestness, how far you

can put into these simple expressions of outside work these principles of the mission you have undertaken? 'If He had asked of me some great thing, would I not have done it?' If I fail in these small things, what could I do in the great?"

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## THE JEWISH CALENDAR.

BY THE REV. D. WASSERZUG.

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“He appointed the moon for seasons: the sun knoweth his going down.”—PSALM civ. 19.

“The moon also is in all things for her season. For a declaration of times and a sign of the world. From the moon is the sign of the feast-day. A light that waneth when she cometh to the full.”—ECCLESIASTICUS xliii. 6, 7.

Not only among the Jews, but among all the great nations of antiquity, the moon was apparently the principal time-measurer. Among the ancient Egyptians, Thot (Dhuti), the god of the moon, was the god of time. The worship of the “queen of heaven” is referred to in Jeremiah (vii. 18 and xlv. 17), in spite of its prohibition in Deuteronomy (xvii. 3). Among the Greeks and Romans, the very name of the moon indicates its use as a measurer of time. The Greek *μήνη* and the Latin *mensis* are clearly connected with the word *metior*, to measure. Cicero says that months were called “menses,” “quia mensa spatia conficiunt,” because they complete *measured* spaces. There are some etymologists who connect these words with the Hebrew מנה, to measure. The same idea, further, is embodied in the Arabic word *Almanac*.

Just as all English measures are derived from the daily motions of the stars, so in olden times, the striking and obvious changes of the moon, which can be readily watched, and are marked by easily determinable stages, made that satellite the most convenient instrument for counting time.

For many generations, even after the destruction of the Temple, the new moon was fixed by direct observation,



although it was known that the Synhedrin had a secret method of computation, which, had they wanted, would have made them independent of ocular evidence. However, Roman persecution became more savage and intolerant every day, and when an edict of Constantius was promulgated directly prohibiting the practice of determining the Calendar by observation of the moon's renewal, the time was considered opportune by the Synhedrin to divulge their secret chronological system. Accordingly, about the year 360, a certain Hillel published the rules which had been adopted by the ecclesiastical authorities for fixing the dates of the new moons and festivals. Their system was found to be to all practical purposes the system invented by Meton, the Athenian mathematician (flourished before 432 B.C.E.), with a few modifications, chiefly influenced by a consideration for the strict observance of the Sabbath. Aiming at bringing the solar and lunar years into harmony, Meton invented a cycle of nineteen years, in seven of which there was an intercalated month. The total number of months was therefore 235, amounting to 6940 days, the same number of days to a fraction as are contained in nineteen solar years. Meton's system is to all intents and purposes the one in vogue among Jews to-day, with a few qualifications already mentioned.

I now proceed to describe the Jewish calendar system in detail.

The time occupied by the moon's circuit round the earth was computed to be 29 days,  $12\frac{793}{1080}$  hrs.—*i.e.* 29 days, 12 hrs. 44 mins.  $3\frac{1}{3}$  secs. The number 1080, being divisible by every integer except 7, was adopted as a most convenient denominator. Scriptural support having been deemed necessary to establish the orthodoxy of this number, the ingenuity of the חלף found it in the word (Isa. xxvii. 4) חלף פ' שעה=אפ' שעה = 1080. Since the actual duration of the month exceeds

four weeks by 1 day, 12 hrs. 44 mins.  $3\frac{1}{3}$  secs., it follows that in order to fix the מולד (moment of the conjunction of the sun and moon) of a certain month, 1 day, 12 hrs. 44 mins.  $3\frac{1}{3}$  secs. must be added to the מולד of the preceding month. Thus, given that the "conjunction" of Ellul 5665 took place at 1 hr. 47 mins. 53 secs. on Wednesday evening, it follows that the "conjunction" of Tishri 5666 occurred on Friday morning at 2 hrs. 31 mins.  $56\frac{1}{3}$  secs. That is, reckoning the day as commencing at 6 P.M., the מולד of Tishri occurred at 31 mins.  $56\frac{1}{3}$  secs. past 8 on Friday morning. Since the astronomical month has 29 days, 12 hrs. 44 mins.  $3\frac{1}{3}$  secs., the ordinary lunar year of 12 months has 50 weeks, 4 days, 8 hrs. 48 mins. 40 secs., and the leap year of 13 months has 54 weeks, 5 days, 21 hrs. 32 mins.  $43\frac{1}{3}$  secs. Hence, omitting the weeks, the מולד of Tishri occurs 4 days, 8 hrs. 48 mins. 40 secs. after the day on which the מולד of the preceding Tishri fell, if the past year had been an ordinary year. If the past year had been a leap year, the מולד of Tishri will be found by adding 5 days, 21 hrs. 32 mins.  $43\frac{1}{3}$  secs. to the מולד of the preceding Tishri.

Thus the מולד of Tishri 5665 occurred on Saturday at 4 hrs. 59 mins. 13 secs. A.M. Consequently the מולד of Tishri 5666 occurred 5 days, 21 hrs. 32 mins.  $43\frac{1}{3}$  secs. later—since the year 5665 was a leap year—*i.e.*, on Friday at 2 hrs. 35 mins.  $56\frac{1}{3}$  secs.

The incoming of the New Year should, properly speaking, always be thus determined. Nevertheless there are certain impediments, דחיות, which necessitate a modification of this mode of determination. These דחיות, which are of four kinds, are technically thus expressed: (1) לא אדו ראש ; (2) מולד זקן ; (3) בל תדרוש ; (4) גט רד בשנה פשוטה גרוש ; (5) בת"ו תקפ"ט אחר עיבור. עקור מלשרוש.

(1) לא אדו ראש. Rosh Hashana may not occur on Sunday,

Wednesday, or Friday; on Sunday, to prevent Hoshana Rabba from falling on Sabbath; on Wednesday and Friday, to prevent the Day of Atonement from falling on the day before or the day following Sabbath (*Rosh Hashana*, 20a).

(2) מולד זקן בל תדרוש. A מולד or late מולד is a מולד of Tishri, which occurs at noon or later. In that case, Rosh Hashana is postponed till the following day, which, if it be a Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday, necessitates a further postponement of a day. This practice has its origin in the ancient Synhedrial system of fixing the "Molad" by the evidence of witnesses. It was laid down as a principle by the Rabbis, that when the Molad took place at noon or later, the first crescent of the moon did not become visible till at least six hours later, in which case Rosh Hashana did not begin till the following day or the day after.

(3) ג' ר' בשנה פשוטה נרוש. When the מולד of Tishri of an ordinary year falls on the third day (ג') at 9 hrs. (ט) 204 (ר"ד) minims—*i.e.* on Tuesday morning at  $11\frac{1}{3}$  minutes past 3—then Rosh Hashana must be put off till the following Thursday. This regulation is based on the principle that the ordinary year must not have more than 355 days. When in an ordinary year the Molad of Tishri falls on Tuesday morning at 11 mins. 20 secs. past 3, or later, then the Molad of the following Tishri will occur on Saturday at noon [3 days, 9 hrs. 204 minims + 4 days, 8 hrs. 876 minims = 7 days, 18 hrs., which, since the Jewish day commences at 6 o'clock on the preceding evening, is equivalent to Saturday noon]. As this would involve a מולד זקן (2), Rosh Hashana would have to be put off till the next day, which, being a Sunday, would require a further postponement till Monday. In this way the interval between one Rosh Hashana and the next will extend to 356 days, which is impossible, since a Hebrew year may not

contain more than 355 days. To avoid this contingency the first Rosh Hashana is postponed from Tuesday till Thursday, in which case the next Rosh Hashana will fall on Monday. The year between will thus have 354 days (בסדרין).

(4) בטו חקפ"ט אחר עיבור שנה עקור מלש"ש (4). If the Molad of Tishri immediately following a leap year occurs on Monday (ב) at 15 hrs. (ט"ו), 589 minims (חקפ"ט), *i.e.* Monday morning at 32 mins.  $10\frac{5}{8}$  secs. past 9 o'clock, then Rosh Hashana must be put off to the next day (Tuesday). For this reason: If the Molad of Tishri following immediately after a leap year occurs on the second day, at 15 hrs. 589 minims, then the Molad of the preceding Tishri must have occurred on the third day at 18 hrs. Thus: subtract 5 days, 21 hrs. 589 minims from  $2(+7)$  days, 15 hrs. 589 minims. The result is 3 days, 18 hrs.

The preceding New Year, in that case, would have occurred on Wednesday, and would therefore have had to be postponed to Thursday (1). If, then, the present New Year is appointed for the day of the Molad, *viz.* Monday, the duration of the leap year will be found to consist of only 382 days, which conflicts with the rule that a leap year must contain at least 383 days. The year in question, further, would have had 8 months of 29 days each, which is also contrary to the rule. Rosh Hashana, consequently, is put off from Monday to Tuesday, and the leap year is thus furnished with its minimum number of days.

A contingency like this is very rare, occurring only once in about every ninety years. The first impediment (דחיה) is the most frequent, happening every two or three years. The second דחיה occurs once in about twelve or fifteen years. The third דחיה takes place in about every twenty-five years.

When, in consequence of these דחיות, a day has to be added—in which case the year is called שלמה, redundant—

or subtracted—in which case the year is called חסרה, defective—it is the months of Cheshvan and Kislev which are affected. Should the year be כסדרן, regular—*i.e.* involving no displacement of a day—then Cheshvan will have 29 days and Kislev 30 days. Should the year be חסר, defective—*i.e.* consisting only of 353 days in the case of an ordinary year and 383 in the case of a leap year—then Cheshvan and Kislev have only 29 days each. Should the year be שלמה, redundant—*i.e.* consisting of 355 days in the case of an ordinary year and 385 in the case of a leap year—then Cheshvan and Kislev will both have 30 days.

To assist in fixing all Calendar computations, certain mnemonics have been invented, which register the leading features of the year and help to determine any required date.

For an ordinary year these סימנים mnemonics are :—

בחג . בישה . גכה . השא . הכז . זשג . זחא :

For a leap year they are :—

בחה . בישז . נכז . השג . הכא . זשה . זחג :

Each letter of these trilateral words embodies some essential fact with regard to the year. As an example, take the characteristic of the year 5666, which is זשג. The first letter, ז, signifies that Rosh Hashana occurred on the seventh day of the week. The second letter, ש, asserts the quality of the year, viz. that it is שלמה, redundant—*i.e.* it has 355 or 385, according as the year is an ordinary or a leap year. The third letter, ג, declares the day on which Passover will occur, viz. Tuesday. By the help of these סימנים, the day on which every other festival falls during the year can be determined at once.

Since Rosh Hashana occurred on Saturday, Yom Kippur must fall on Monday, and Succoth and Shemini Atzereth on



the same day as Rosh Hashana, viz. Saturday. Given that the first day, Pesach, occurs on Tuesday, we can, with the help of the system א ת ב"ש, at once name the day on which every other festival or fast occurs. Thus (תשעה באב=ת) falls on the first day, א, of Passover. Shabuoth, י"ז, on the second, ב. The ensuing New Year, ר, on the third day, ג. Simchath Torah (קריאת התורה=ק) on the fourth day, ד. Yom Kippur (יום כפור=צ) on the fifth day. And the preceding Purim on the sixth day, ו.

With the aid of these mnemonics it is easy to determine when the double Sedras,

ויקהל פקודי . תזריע מצורע . אחרי מות קדושים . בהר בחקותי . חקת ובלק . מטות ומסע . נצבים וילך  
are read separately or together.

In an ordinary year

מטות ומסעי and בהר בחקותי . אחרי מות קדושים . תזריע ומצורע

are invariably read together. In a leap year

בהר בחקותי and תזריע ומצורעי ויקהל פקודי אחרי קדושים

are invariably divided. In an ordinary year

ויקהל פקודי are divided only when the סמנים of the year are ה"ש א ;  
ה"ש א : ז"ש ג : זח"א : סמנים are divided when the חקת ובלק  
ה"כז : ב'ח"ג  
נכ"ה : זח"א : ה"ש א : ה"כז are divided when the נעבים וילך

In a leap year

ז"ש א : ב'ח"ה	are combined when the	סמנים	are	ה"ש א
ז"ש א : זח"ג : נ"כז :	"	"	"	"
ב"ש ז : ב'ח"ה	"	"	"	"
ז"ש א : זח"ג : ה"ש א :	"	"	"	"
ב'ח"ה	"	"	"	"

It should be borne in mind, further, that in an ordinary year the Sedra צו invariably coincides with יטבת הנדול, the

Sabbath preceding Passover. In a leap year it is the Sedra מצורע which generally heralds this festival. But if the preceding Rosh Hashana occurred on a Thursday, then Rosh Chodesh, חשון, occurs on יטבת נה, and, in the case of a leap year, the Sedra אהרי מות will be read before Passover and the Sedra נשא before Pentecost. With this exception, the Sedra במדבר is the portion that precedes Pentecost. The Sedras השעה באב and ואתחנן invariably precede and follow השעה באב. Finally, נעבים is invariably associated with the Sabbath before Rosh Hashana. נעבים וילך are always combined when Rosh Hashana occurs on Thursday or Saturday. When Rosh Hashana occurs on Monday or Tuesday, there will be a Sabbath intervening between Yom Kippur and Succoth, and consequently נעבים וילך have to be divided. (See Maginé Eretz, *Orach Chayim*, § 428.)

Since the lunar year is eleven days shorter than the solar year, it follows that if the Jewish Calendar were allowed to run its course unchecked, each month would, in the march of time, box the compass of all the seasons. But, since Scriptural ordinance has laid down that Passover must be celebrated in the month of green ears, *i.e.* in Spring (Deut. xvi. 1), and Succoth in the harvest season, *i.e.* in Autumn (Exod. xxiii. 16), it is clear that the Calendar must be so arranged that these festivals shall always occur in the seasons named. The lunar and the solar systems, therefore, have to be combined. It was computed by Mar Samuel that the solar year consisted of 365 days, 6 hrs. Since the lunar year consists of 354 days, 8 hrs. 876 minims (*i.e.* 29 days, 12 hrs. 793 minims  $\times$  29), there will be a difference every year of 10 days, 21 hrs. 204 minims. In nineteen years this difference will become 206 days, 18 hrs. 636 minims. To meet this difference seven extra months are added, which total (29 days, 12 hrs. 793 minims  $\times$  7) 206 days, 17 hrs. 151

minims. Thus the excess of a lunar cycle of nineteen years over a solar cycle of nineteen years amounts to 1 hr. 485 minims. As this difference is so small, it is for the present disregarded, although a pan-Judaic synod will have to be summoned a few thousand years hence to make up for the error which this difference will cause in the Calendar by that time. The seven extra months have been given to the third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth years.

In a cycle of nineteen years, of which seven are leap years, there will therefore be twelve ordinary years. The Molad of one cycle can therefore be determined by adding 2 days, 16 hrs. 595 minims to the Molad of the previous cycle. Thus, since there are twelve ordinary years and seven leap years, there will have been  $12 \times 4$  days, 8 hrs. 876 minims +  $7 \times 5$  days, 21 hrs. 589 minims excess of days between one cyclar Molad and another. This sum worked out gives 13 weeks, 2 days, 16 hrs. 595 minims, of which the 13 weeks can be neglected.

In addition to the lunar cycle, called מחזור קטן ללבנה, account must be taken also of the solar cycle, called מחזור גדול לחמה, which consists of twenty-eight years. The solar year was divided into four periods, called תקופות ניסן (1), the Spring season, when the sun was supposed to enter the constellation Aries (מזל טלה); (2) תקופת תמוז, the Summer season, when the sun made his appearance in the constellation Cancer (מזל סרטן); (3) תקופת תשרי, Autumn, when the constellation Libra (מזל מאזניים) received his visit; and (4) תקופת טבת, Winter, when the constellation Capricornus (מזל גדי) was entered. According to the Talmud (*Rosh Hashana*, 11), the creation of the world took place at the time of the תקופת ניסן. That is, the sun first commenced his course on Tuesday evening at 6 o'clock. To find the time of the next תקופה, we have merely to add  $\frac{1}{4}$  (365 days, 6 hrs.) = 91 days,

$7\frac{1}{2}$  hrs., to this given date. Since 91 days make 13 weeks exactly, the task resolves itself into merely adding  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hrs. to 6 o'clock, Tuesday evening. The Tekufath Tammuz therefore commences on Wednesday morning at 1.30 A.M. The study of the תקופות has a practical importance only for the purpose of fixing the date of saying טל ומטר לברכה. It has been laid down that the prayer for dew and rain shall commence to be said 60 days after the Tekufa of Tishri. The Tekufa of Tishri in the first year of the solar cycle begins  $2 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  hrs. after 6 o'clock on Tuesday evening, *i.e.* on Wednesday morning at 9 o'clock. Accordingly, the prayer for rain will commence to be said 60 days later, *viz.* on Sabbath, in the Maariv service. The Tekufath Nisan of the first year of the solar cycle commences invariably on Tuesday evening at 6 o'clock. The period of the other תקופות varies accordingly till the last תקופה of the twenty-eighth year of the cycle, when once again the Tekufath Nisan of the next year commences on Tuesday evening at 6 o'clock. To determine the date when טל ומטר must commence to be said, the year of the solar cycle must be given. The present year 5666 is the tenth year of the cycle. The Tekufath Tishri accordingly commenced on Sabbath morning, Oct. 7th, at 9 o'clock. The prayer for dew and rain therefore begins to be said 60 days later, *i.e.* Monday evening, Dec. 4th.

## THE LIBRARY

Jews' COLLEGE is fortunate in housing several collections of books which might be made to form one of the most valuable and extensive libraries of Judaica and Hebraica in the Diaspora. There are the Jews' College Library proper, of which the collections of the late Michael Josephs and of Sussex Hall formed the nucleus, the A. L. Green Memorial Library, the L. M. Rothschild Library, and the Loewy Library; in addition, the Montefiore Endowment has very generously deposited a large number of its books and manuscripts at the College for the use of borrowers and readers. These books and manuscripts are not only consulted and borrowed by members of the staff and students of the College; members of the Community also can, on introduction, have access to this storehouse of Jewish learning, and in the general study of Jewish history and literature, as well as in the more special studies conducted within the College itself, the Library and its contents prove invaluable.

This collection is excellent as far as it goes, but unfortunately it just stops short, in the most important essentials, of the goal to which all such libraries aspire, and this for the following reason:—

The Library consists almost entirely of gifts of books made to the College from time to time by various donors. There has consequently been little co-ordination in the selection of volumes, and the Library, although rich in some departments, is exceptionally poor in others. This is especially so with regard to modern works dealing with the subjects of study at the College. The need of modern works of



reference, the necessity that the student should be abreast with the latest conclusions of Biblical science, is urgent, but it cannot be satisfied with the Library as at present constituted. It is hardly an exaggeration to state *that no work has been purchased during the last generation*, a condition of affairs hardly conceivable, and this requires to be remedied as well as the gaps in the various collections to be filled up. It is obviously of vital importance that students should be enabled to carry out with completeness their studies instead of having to rely upon a chain of incomplete and broken links as at present.

Unfortunately the financial difficulties under which the College has laboured in the past, have compelled this niggardly attitude towards the Library. Despite repeated and urgent representations by the staff, books absolutely necessary for the conduct of the studies for which the College was established, could not be purchased, and the institution has consequently suffered seriously in efficiency. At a very modest estimate at least £100 per annum is needed in order to place on the shelves the most necessary additions to current Jewish and Theological literature. It has been computed that, to bring the Library up to date—that is to say, to obtain only volumes urgently required—£1000 is necessary. No such sum is, however, available, nor has the College the means wherefrom to devote £100 per annum for additions to the Library.

It is hoped the friends of the College and of Jewish Learning will acknowledge these particular needs by giving special donations for the purchase of books, or that some large-hearted member of the Community will show his interest in Jewish Learning in England, and generously present the College with a sum sufficient to repair the most deplorable omissions from the Library's catalogue.

## THE JUBILEE FESTIVAL<sup>1</sup>

LORD ROTHSCHILD presided on Wednesday, June 13, at the Jubilee Festival Dinner of Jews' College, which was held at the Trocadero Restaurant. There were present :—

Sir B. L. Cohen, Major and Mrs. Lewis-Barned, Sir Philip Magnus, M.P., The Hon. L. W. Rothschild, M.P., Sir Arthur and Lady Rücker, Sir Marcus and Lady Samuel, Sir Edward Sassoon, M.P., Sir Edward Stern, Rev. M. and Mrs. Adler, Rev. B. and Mrs. Berliner, Rev. A. and Mrs. Chaikin, Rev. John and Mrs. Chapman, Rev. Harris and Mrs. Cohen, Rev. W. and Mrs. Esterson, Rev. Dayan A. and Mrs. Feldman, Rev. G. and Mrs. Friedlander, Rev. L. and Mrs. Geffen, Rev. Professor Dr. H. and Mrs. Gollancz, Rev. A. A. and Mrs. Green, Rev. I. and Mrs. Harris, Rev. R. and Mrs. Harris, Rev. Dr. Emil and Mrs. Hirsch, Rev. Dayan M. and Mrs. Hyamson, Rev. G. and Mrs. Isaacs, Rev. Morris and Mrs. Joseph, Rev. S. and Mrs. Levene, Rev. B. N. and Mrs. Michelson, Rev. M. and Mrs. Rosenbaum, Rev. I. and Mrs. Samuel, Rev. J. F. and Mrs. Stern, Rev. D. and Mrs. Wasserzug, Professor I. and Mrs. Friedländer, Dr. A. and Mrs. Eichholz, Dr. Gregory and Mrs. Foster, Dr. M. and Mrs. Friedländer, Dr. S. A. and Mrs. Hirsch, Dr. H. and Mrs. Hirschfeld, the Revs. J. Abelson, S. Alfred Adler, G. J. Emanuel, W. Levin, S. Levy, J. Polack; Mr. and Mrs. I. Abrahams, Mr. and Mrs. I. Abraham, Mr. and Mrs. A. I. Belisha, Mr. and Mrs. Rudolf Benjamin, Mr. and Mrs. H. Bentwich, Mr. and Mrs. H. Van den Bergh, Mr. and Mrs. S. Birn, Mr. and Mrs. S. Blaiberg, Mr. and Mrs. P. M. Castello, Mr. and Mrs. Ruby Clifford, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Cohen, Mr. Herman Cohen, Mr. E. H. Cotton, Mr. and Mrs. H. Davidson, Mr. and Mrs. Moss Davis, Mr. and Mrs. S. Flatau, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Franklin, Mr. and Mrs. A. Gollancz, Mrs. and Miss Goodman, Mr. and Mrs. M. A. Green and Miss Green, Mr. P. J. and Miss Hartog, Mr. Henry H. and Miss Sylvia Hyams, Mr. and Mrs. D. L. Isaacs, Mr. and Mrs. S. Japhet, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Jessel, Mr. and Mrs. Delissa Joseph, Mr. and Mrs. E. Kahn, Mr. and Mrs. H. J. Kisch, Mr. W. and Miss Klingenstein, Mr. and Mme. E. J. Loewé, Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Löwy, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lucas, Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Mocatta, Mr. and Mrs. S. Moses, Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Nathan, Mr. and Mrs. A. Van Noorden, Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Phillips, Mr. and Mrs. J. Prag, Mrs. Schubach, Mr. and Mrs. Cyrus Sulzberger, Mr. A. B. Salmen, Mr. and Mrs. A. D. Sassoon, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Solomon, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Solomon, Mr. and Mrs. J. Trenner, Mr. and Mrs. Adolph Tuck, Mr. and Mrs. Gustave Tuck, Mr. and Mrs. Herman Tuck, Mr. P. Vallentine, Mr. and Mrs. R. T. Watkin-Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Wolff; Mesdames Meldola

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from the *Jewish Chronicle*, June 15, 1906.

de Sola, Mendelsohn, and Solomon Sassoon; Misses Adler, Benzian, Sassoon, and K. Mocatta; Messrs. James Castello, N. L. Cohen, E. M. Cohen, R. Waley-Cohen, S. I. Cohen, Isaac Davis, E. Drielsma, L. Felsenstein, E. A. Franklin, Jacob Franklin, M. Fuerst, J. Goldhill, A. E. Goldstein, John Hart, C. S. Henry, M.P., J. Hirsch, A. M. Hyamson, Asher Isaacs, D. Isaacs, L. A. Isaacs, Maurice Jacobs, A. D. Joseph, J. B. Joseph, A. Kahn, B. Kisch, P. H. Levi, J. M. Levy, G. Lindo, H. Lissner, L. E. Mendl, E. Meyer, I. Morris, I. Oelsner, J. Phillips, D. Sassoon, J. Spitzel, A. Spitzel, L. Spitzel, S. Trenner, W. Reginald Tuck, P. Vallentine, E. Vredenburg, E. L. Walford, M. Winter, and B. Woolstone.

After the loyal toasts, in proposing the toast of "Prosperity to the College,"

The CHAIRMAN said: Before proposing to you the toast of the evening, I think I ought to read to you a portion of two letters, one of which I have received from the Chief Rabbi, whose absence we must all regret this evening, particularly on account of the cause which prevents him from coming among you, and the other from the Rev. S. Singer, one of the most distinguished children of Jews' College. (Hear, hear.) The Chief Rabbi writes:—

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF RABBI,  
22 FINSBURY SQUARE,  
*June 12, 5666.*

MY DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,—I keenly regret that, in consequence of the lamented death of my sister, Mrs. Israel, I shall not be able to attend the Jubilee Festival to-morrow evening. I must have, therefore, recourse to the pen to tender your Lordship, on behalf of the Council of Jews' College and of myself, our deep-felt thanks for your gracious willingness to preside at this memorable celebration. Your ready compliance with our request has stimulated us all—the Treasurers, the Honorary Secretaries and Stewards—to exert our strenuous efforts on behalf of the Endowment Fund. And although we have not yet succeeded in raising the amount to which we aspired, yet we gratefully acknowledge that the community has, despite the commercial depression, responded liberally to the appeal which went forth in your honoured name. The generous recognition meted out to the College, and the eloquent plea which you will address to the assembly to-morrow evening, will, I am sure, act as incentives to our veteran Principal, Dr. Friedländer, and his coadjutors, and to all the Managers of the Institution, worthily to train the students committed to our care for the sacred functions they are to fill.

May our Heavenly Father realise all the ardent hopes and wishes to which you will give expression for the prosperity of Jews' College, an institution with which the spiritual welfare of our congregations throughout the British Empire is so intimately bound up.

Believe me, dear Lord Rothschild,

Yours very truly,

H. ADLER.

The Rt. Hon. LORD ROTHSCHILD, P.C., G.C.V.O.

Mr. Singer writes to me that he is unfortunately unwell and is living at Homburg. He sends his best wishes for this evening, and he only hopes the College may send forth men willing to serve in the interests of Judaism to all parts of the world. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have often wondered why it is thought necessary,

when an institution like Jews' College is in want of money, that you should all be called together in a room like the present, and that your presence at a dinner should be necessary to provide Jews' College, or any institution which may be in want of funds, with the necessary money to enable them to carry on their work, and these feelings which I have entertained about the charities I feel more strongly to-night. I am very much afraid that the appeal which has gone forth, and the demand made on your purse, will hardly come up to the expectations of those who manage this institution. There are, however, many reasons for that. I have received letters from various friends, from some unknown friends, from different members of the community. A great many of them—not unreasonably—are afraid of subscribing to an endowment fund. They say there is an Education Bill before Parliament, and we do not know if the money we subscribe for the training of ministers in Jews' College may not be taken for undenominational schools. (Cheers.) There are others who—I should not venture to do so myself—criticise the management of the College. Some think it too orthodox, others that it is not orthodox enough. Both of those who differ agree in not subscribing. (Laughter.) There was, when I was in the House of Commons, a parliamentary myth somewhat to this effect. I believe it was at the time when the great Mr. Babbage invented a calculating machine, and that machine was brought before Parliament and its merits were recommended to the Government of the day. I suppose Sir William Hall, when he called Sir Robert Peel's attention to the machine, wanted a Government grant. Sir Robert Peel rose, and he was ecstatic about the machine. To every one's astonishment, he described everything the machine could do. "But," he said, "there is only one thing this machine cannot do; it cannot calculate its own cost." (Laughter.) Now, the difference between the calculating machine and Jews' College is that your Treasurer and the Stewards and the officials of the College have told you what sum of money they require to endow the College and to give them sufficient money to train the ministers. But what they have not told you and cannot calculate is the extraordinary amount of good these ministers will do when they are trained in the College and take their part in the Synagogue. (Cheers.) Some of the gentlemen who are trained in the College will no doubt have to give religious instruction in our schools and to the youths of the Jewish persuasion. Now, it may perhaps not be quite germane to the toast, but I wish on this occasion to say a few words, and only a few words, on the Education Bill which is now before Parliament. (Hear, hear.) I have seen the question asked: What is the Jewish aspect of the Education Bill? To my mind there is no Jewish aspect. (Cheers.) The Jews of England are grateful, and always will be grateful, for what has been done for them in the way of education, for the privileges granted to them in school and University. But when you are discussing a Bill like the Education Bill, the position of the Jews in England is no different from the position of any one who wishes his child or children to be brought up in the religion in which they themselves were trained. I do not propose, and I am sure you would not thank me if I ventured, to discuss that Bill clause by clause. (Laughter.) But I will, if you



will allow me, take it as a whole. I do not think that any reasonable person can find any objection to one underlying principle of the Bill, and that is that the Local Authority who finds the money should have full control of the schools. (Cheers.) They have that control now, and those who would vote against that principle of the Bill are throwing away the substance for the shadow. I have some slight experience of that under the present law. In what are called voluntary schools, in non-provided schools, the Local Authority has only one-third of the management. The other two-thirds are chosen by the friends of the denomination. But what is the fact? The Local Authority has full power, and the managers of the denominational school can do nothing. At the Free School we cannot buy a ream of paper, quill pens or steel pens—we cannot do anything—without the consent of the County Council, and I am convinced that the management of a school like the Free School, or any denominational school, would be far easier if the Local Authority chose all the managers. A good many causes of friction would be removed, and the Authority would listen to the managers, if it knew that all of them were of its own choice, whereas it might think that the denominational managers are its enemies and might oppose everything. But having said that—we as Jews must fight for the principle, if we wish our children to be brought up in the tenets of our religion, if we wish them to have denominational teaching in the Jewish religion, that they should have it in Jewish schools in school hours, and it should not be dependent on the goodwill or the whim of the Local Authority to grant us these facilities. (Cheers.) I have perhaps strayed from the purpose for which I rose, which was to propose prosperity to the Jews' College, and to express the hope, which I am sure must be the hope of all those that are assembled here this evening, that Jews' College may continue to flourish, that within its walls men may be brought up who may be of great use to Jewish synagogues and schools, and I couple with the toast the name of Sir Edward Sassoon. (Cheers.)

Sir EDWARD SASSOON, M.P., in reply, said: I assure you I am rather sorry for myself, and I am much more sorry for the brilliant audience I now have the honour of addressing, that the Chairman should have had to call upon me to respond to this toast, which naturally and properly, and as if by hereditary right, would have devolved upon the President of the College, our respected Chief Rabbi. As the Chairman has told us, it is owing to an unfortunate event that the Chief Rabbi is unable to be present among us. I feel certain our sympathies go out whole-heartedly and instinctively to him, to Mrs. Adler, and the other members of the family affected by this bereavement. (Hear, hear.) I am glad to say his son is here this evening, because not only is it a great pity that Dr. Adler should not be here to witness the placing of the coping-stone of that great work which was begun by his lamented father and so ably supplemented by himself—and I hope his son will carry to him the expression of our sincerest sympathy—but he would have spoken with the weight of experience and authority not only as regards the actual working of this institution, but also of the true inwardness and significance of this gathering, which, I fear, I greatly lack. So whether you like it or not, you will have to be content



with accepting an insufficient and inadequate substitute, but a substitute who has had the privilege of showing the faith he has within him by distributing the prizes hardly a fortnight ago at Jews' College and delivering an address. But even a humble Vice-President, unversed in those higher fields of ideography and spiritual knowledge though he be, I assure you I am not deficient in my appreciation of your presence this evening, nor of the recognition of the fact that you have gathered round our noble Chairman in order to testify your desire to see maintained in its pristine usefulness this institution, of which we are all so proud. It is an institution with which my own family for close upon forty years has been more or less closely identified. (Cheers.) It therefore becomes my very pleasing duty to express, on behalf of the President and my colleagues on the Council, our most cordial acknowledgments to our noble Chairman for the genial, eloquent, "short and sweet," the feeling, terms which he so gracefully employed in commending this toast to your judgment. I am equally grateful to you for the manner in which you endorsed the reception of that toast. Even a theological establishment like this can hardly live and thrive on books, parchment, and MSS. The staff of life has to be provided, and I hope, therefore, and believe, that when we hear the announcement, which I suppose the Treasurer will very soon make, our hearts will bubble up with gratitude to those kind friends and supporters who have come forward to give us that material aid and those increased resources of which we stand so very much in need. The Council will then be placed in a position where questions of ways and means, where considerations of these *res angusta domi* will be absent and will no longer haunt them, so that they may be enabled to pursue the execution of their views and schemes, ever raising still higher both the purposes and the achievements of the College committed to their care. You, Sir, have just told us how Jews' College has carried out the promises and the prospects with which its advent, under somewhat difficult beginnings, was heralded. I am glad to think that we are free from the standing spectacle witnessed before the College existed of having holy offices and clerical positions filled by strangers. (Hear, hear.) We now have Englishmen and Britishers born and bred in this country, thanks to the shelter and pasture accorded to them under the auspices of this institution, who have shown what they are capable of doing in the way of spiritual administration, and therefore the reproach which used to be levelled at our community has been practically obliterated and annihilated. We who are attached to our Jewish faith, to our splendid traditions and our beautiful literature, whether we be rigid in our orthodoxy, or somewhat lukewarm in the observance of those prescribed ordinances or hygienic laws—perhaps, under the complex state of our social organisation, it is sometimes difficult to remain true and steadfast—we none the less desire, and are most anxious, that the ethical and the intellectual environment of our people should be maintained high. And we therefore are imbued with the profoundest feelings of gratitude to those who come to our assistance in the hour of our need. And, believe me, never has that need been more keenly felt, or its necessity been more apparent, than in the utilitarian and high-pressure age in which we live. The

College should appeal on this account to all classes of the community. At any rate, I know you will bear me out when I say that no body of men who have been conspicuous in the van of generosity and lavish munificence can equal the great *largesse* poured on this College by the historic house over which Lord Rothschild so ably presides. (Cheers.) It has been a matter of great surprise to me that, seeing the onerous responsibilities which that world-famed institution calls upon him to assume, he should find the time and energy and strength to devote to the claims, the ever-pressing claims, of discriminate philanthropy and practical benevolence. I am very glad to see here the venerable and respected Principal of Jews' College. (Loud cheers.) To hear the applause with which the mention of his name appears to be accompanied only bears out the description so aptly applied to him of "the Admirable Crichton." He has been identified and very closely associated with the fortunes and destinies of this College for no less than forty years. He has raised the tone of the institution, and he has extended the desire among the students for the acquisition of wisdom and knowledge. (Cheers.)

Loud calls being raised for Dr. Friedländer, he rose and bowed his acknowledgments. Mr. Percy M. Castello then read the following address, which was to have been handed to the Chief Rabbi by Dr. I. Friedländer, of the New York Jewish Theological Seminary.

TO THE VERY REVEREND DOCTOR HERMANN ADLER, PRESIDENT OF JEWS' COLLEGE, LONDON, ENGLAND.

DEAR SIR,—Fifty years have passed since your reverend father founded Jews' College for the purpose of training Rabbis imbued with the principles of traditional Judaism. During that time the College has supplied the British Empire with a series of capable Ministers, who have helped to keep aloft the standard of Judaism in all parts of the world, including even this country. Wherever the voice of Israel is raised in prayer in the British Empire, it is led by an alumnus of the Jews' College. For nearly the whole of that time the College has had the advantage of the learning and piety of the venerated Dr. Friedländer, who has served both as guide and model for its students. It must be a supreme gratification to him, and to the authorities of the College, that he has been spared to see the celebration of its Jubilee, with every prospect of the continued prosperity of the Institution over which he has presided for so many years. The Jewish Theological Seminary of America desires to add its congratulations to the College and to Dr. Friedländer upon this auspicious occasion. In matters Jewish, England and America are at one, as was shown on the recent occasion when both countries celebrated the 250th anniversary of their beginnings in each hemisphere. The future will, doubtless, strengthen these bonds of union and common interest. We have heard with great interest that Dr. Friedländer will have the advantage, henceforth, of the assistance of so competent a scholar as Dr. Büchler, which cannot fail to have excellent results in the near future, both for the Anglo-Jewish Ministry and for the cause of Jewish science. Working on the same lines, the Seminary feels the deepest interest in this celebration of the past, and this promise of the future for Jews' College. Both Institutions are working in the same interest, and must often meet on the

same plane of activity. May it be said of both, in the words of the Section of the Week, that they have "kept the charge of the Lord."

Yours faithfully,

SOLOMON SCHECHTER, *President.*

NEW YORK, May 25, 1906.

MR. ADOLPH TUCK proposed the Clergy. He said: Sir Benjamin Cohen was good enough, in the first instance, to accept this toast, but, in the regretted absence of the Chief Rabbi, already so feelingly referred to, the cause of which we all deplore, he has deputed me, as one of the officials of Jews' College, to take his place. There can be little doubt that we are fortunate in possessing our due proportion of gifted and capable ministers, and, commencing with our Chief Rabbi, I venture to say that no denomination has reason to be more proud of its head than the Anglo-Jewish community. Possessed of great learning and deep erudition, he combines tact and affability in the highest degree, and is, without question, an ideal representative of British Jewry. Passing on to his coadjutors, when we come to consider the multifarious duties that fall to the lot of the whole of our clergy, note the zeal with which these are performed, and then remember how very few are the prizes, in the shape of even passably good livings, the community is able to offer, we have indeed good reason to value our clergy, not only as preachers and guides, but as men well able to take their stand beside their colleagues of other denominations, and so uphold the fair fame of the community with dignity and credit. One attribute, however, I must deny them. They do not make good financiers! I speak feelingly on this point in my capacity of Chairman of the Endowment Fund, for, with one brilliant and two or three notable exceptions, the assistance which the clergy has been able to render in the collecting of this fund has not reached the expectations which my colleague the Senior Treasurer and I originally formed. With the exception of the Chief Rabbi and one or two others, they do not make such good *Schnorrers* as we gave them credit for. On the other hand, I believe that you can have no idea how much £25,000 really does represent until such time when you either want to borrow it or are compelled to beg for it. The question of the impoverished financial condition of the College was already a burning one eleven years ago; how much more so has it become to-day! The occasion for at last starting an endowment seemed appropriate enough—the celebration of the fiftieth year of the establishment of the College actually invited the effort, and, if successful, how much good might be done! We would be in a position to comply with the urgent requests that have been made to us to add to the emoluments and bursaries of the students so as to enable them to proceed with their studies without those financial cares and worries which have lost us many a promising young student who could hold out no longer, and this after having been educated by the College for three, four, and sometimes even five years. The Jubilee Fund was inaugurated, and the start was really all that could be desired. Our President, the Chief Rabbi himself, managed, by dint of his earnest enthusiasm and telling eloquence, quickly to build up a most desirable nucleus. It was quite a

pleasant process, and it certainly appeared a simple one to us Treasurers duly to enter into our Endowment Fund book donations of £1000, donations of £500, of £250, sometimes varied by donations of £100, which the learned Doctor kept advising us of at regular intervals. Gradually, nay, quickly, the hundreds changed into fifties, the fifties into twenties, these into tens, then into fives, threes, twos, and ones, and you will really be astonished, if you ever have to go through the experience, to find what an awful lot of individual guineas it takes to make up a single thousand. We received some little support from the Colonies, who are practically dependent upon us for their ministers, and some encouragement from the provinces, which are benefiting so largely by the existence of the College. A notable contribution, for which I am especially grateful, came in acknowledgment of the services rendered by Jews' College to American pulpits, from Mr. Jacob Schiff, the great philanthropist of New York, who sent us £500 all the way from Japan, where my letter had followed him. Coming to the net result of our appeal, this is very considerably behind the amount we set ourselves to secure. I cannot leave this subject without giving due recognition to the work done by the Honorary Secretaries, and more particularly by my esteemed friend Mr. Percy Castello, who, in his genial way, has been the life and soul of the Dinner Committee. Special thanks are also due and most gratefully tendered by the Council, and the Treasurers in particular, for the splendid assistance rendered to our cause by my friend Mr. Lawrence Isaacs. No less grateful are we to the Jewish press, whose thoughtful articles during the past weeks must have brought home to thousands of readers the paramount necessity for the upkeep of Jews' College. The *Jewish Chronicle*—the leading organ of the community—put the case so clearly last week that, with your permission, I am tempted to quote an extract :—

“The necessity for the College, great in the days of Sir Moses Montefiore and the late Chief Rabbi, is to-day immeasurably more urgent. For the sake of our religion, for the sake of our good name, for the sake of the whole future of the community, which is bound up intimately with the prosperity of the College, we appeal to the Jews of this country to hasten to the support of what is now their only seminary, so as to make it worthy of their own position, as well as a bulwark to Judaism in the years to come.”

We are especially fortunate this evening in having so representative a gathering of the clergy, but for me the selection from this *embarras de richesses* is a decidedly difficult task. The doyen of the provincial congregations, the Rev. George Emanuel, of Birmingham, offers, however, a solution of my difficulty which will not only commend itself to all members of the clergy, but to every one of you. The long and valuable services rendered by Mr. Emanuel to the community, and more especially to his own united Birmingham congregation, the harmonious working of which is the envy of Anglo-Jewry, are known and appreciated by everybody, and I deem myself most fortunate in being able to couple my toast of the Clergy with a name so beloved and respected as his. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. G. J. EMANUEL, B.A., responded.



Sir PHILIP MAGNUS, M.P., in proposing the toast of "The Guests," said: We are glad to receive visits at the College from all interested in religious education, and particularly from representatives of the University of London, of whom some of the most distinguished are here. Some of the Professors of the College, its revered Principal, Dr. Friedländer, Dr. Hirsch, and Dr. Hirschfeld, are recognised teachers of the University. Visitors may learn of the work we are doing, and such visits serve to dispel the ignorance which, Mr. Zangwill's novels notwithstanding, still prevails as to British Jews. It is very satisfactory to have learnt from the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, and from the eloquent address of the minister of the Birmingham congregation, how the College has developed during the past fifty years, how it has grown from strength to strength, changing its *locale* with increasing numbers from Finsbury Square to Tavistock House, where Dickens resided, and from Tavistock House to Queen Square. It is interesting to recall the strange ideas which Charles Dickens himself formed of Jews. He introduces two Jewish characters. Fagin had "a villainous look and repulsive face, which was obscured by a quantity of matted *red* hair." The corrective to this caricature, Mr. Riah, "had long grey hair, flowing down at its sides and mingling with his beard," and wore "an ancient coat, long of skirt and wide of pocket," and went abroad in the streets of London with "no ordinary walking-stick, but a veritable staff," addressing those he met as "Christian Master" or "Christian Gentleman." Neither of these types can be said to describe the professors, students, or members of the Council of Jews' College, nor the company assembled. A word as to the place which Jews' College ought to occupy among our institutions, and as to its training. I need say nothing as to the advantage of securing a cultivated ministry. Culture alone will not make a minister of religion, for he must be actuated by the desire to instil into the hearts of others the yearning for a higher life which he feels; but without culture his ministration will fail. But I wish to impress on the community the urgent necessity of utilising the facilities of Jews' College to secure well-trained teachers of religion for our public elementary schools. The Education Bill is a tempting theme, but I dismiss it. But, whatever may be the outcome of the Bill, we must look to Jews' College for that supply of trained teachers of religion whose services will be required in all provided schools in which a large majority of the children are of the Jewish faith. We are honoured by seeing Dr. Gregory Foster, the Provost of University College, which is about to be incorporated with the University. It is not yet known whether "incorporation" means that the College will absorb the University or the University the College. But Dr. Foster has rendered valuable help to our students in directing their secular studies. I am privileged to associate this toast with Sir Arthur Rücker, Principal of our University. Before Sir Arthur was appointed, it was suggested he should be called "Rector." But it was thought that he would prefer that the Senate should, nominally at least, govern the University. No more appropriate title than Principal could have been chosen. For in every sense Sir Arthur Rücker is the Principal. And never has his claim to that title been more fully justified than in the part he took last week in welcoming our



academic guests from France. Such is the value of his services to higher education generally that we are not permitted to monopolise them. Whenever the Government needs expert advice, and in this respect the present Government is as wise as its predecessor, his advice is sought, and within the last few days he has been appointed Member of the Royal Commission on the present and future of Trinity College and the University of Dublin. With all these responsible duties, we think it very kind of him to have given us the pleasure of his company.

Sir ARTHUR RÜCKER, LL.D., responding for the visitors, said: I must thank you very heartily for the warm reception you have given to this toast. It is due to the close connection that has always existed between the University of London and Jews' College. It is possible now, I am glad to say, for persons of various denominations to work together for the great task of education. In the early days of the University of London members of your community took a great interest in the founding of University College. Some of the most generous gifts were given by the members of that great body before whom I have the honour of speaking. It is only a right and fair return for this that University College should meet the wishes of your community. Considerable part of the teaching which is not directly bearing on the preparation of the clergy for their special task is given in University College. It is very desirable that we should agree in the form of teaching those subjects on which we can all agree, whatever our differences on other subjects may be. We have succeeded in carrying this *rapprochement* a step farther. We are the only University in the country with an undenominational theological faculty. That is a fact that shows that many of the various denominations are working together more than in the past. With much pleasure I am here to-night as the representative of the University which owes much to you and your colleagues, and which is endeavouring to repay some of that debt, a University which will by-and-by be a University of which this great Metropolis may be proud. It encloses within its ranks all those who are true seekers of knowledge.

Mr. PERCY M. CASTELLO, the organising Honorary Secretary, announced the totals of the Stewards' lists, amounting to £14,565.

Sir MARCUS SAMUEL, in proposing the toast of "The Chairman," said: I have been brought into contact with Lord Rothschild frequently. I can but recognise the devotion which he gives to everything in which he is concerned. He is the head of one of the greatest houses in the world, but which would not remain so if its head had not inherited the gifts of his forefathers and exercised them for the great benefit of the commercial world, and more especially of the Jewish community. No appeal is ever made to Lord Rothschild in vain. The Jews' Free School for many years was maintained practically by Lord Rothschild and his family. I hope sincerely that for many years to come the community will enjoy his unequalled services.

LORD ROTHSCHILD said: It is always a great pleasure if I can be of any use, if I can serve the cause of religion and education in an institution like the Jews' College.

The following is the copy of a letter from the Rev. S. Singer, referred to by Lord Rothschild in proposing the toast of the evening :—

67 KAISER FRIEDRICH PROMENADE, HOMBURG,  
*June 11, 1906.*

DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,—I cannot express to you how deeply I regret my enforced absence from the Jubilee Festival of Jews' College, at which you have been good enough to promise to preside on Wednesday evening next. But I cannot refrain from sending you a word of sympathetic interest on the occasion. So I rise from my bed, to which my physician has confined me for the greater part of the week, to offer you, dear Lord Rothschild, the venerable President of the College, the revered and beloved Principal, as well as the whole body of your supporters at the Festival Dinner, my wife's and my own cordial congratulations and sincerest wishes for a successful and memorable celebration.

If the Anglo-Jewish laity owes something to Jews' College, the Anglo-Jewish clergy owes it far more, and I, for one, should like to put on record my sense of obligation to an institution which did its utmost to fit me for an office wherein it has been my privilege to serve, according to the measure of my powers, the highest and holiest interests of my community. My experience has been, of course, identical with that of others, whether my predecessors, contemporaries, or successors.

The needs of the College must naturally increase with the growth in numbers and in culture of the community at large. May the generosity of our people keep pace with both ! And may you, and all who shall respond to your appeal and example, have your reward in witnessing the true prosperity of such an institution—how from its portals go forth a steady stream of men imbued with high ideals, well trained in our ancient learning, yet well abreast also of the knowledge of their age ; resolved to plant deep the love of their faith in the hearts of their brethren, and to maintain respect for Jews and Judaism in the world at large.

Believe me, dear Lord Rothschild,

Yours very faithfully,

S. SINGER.

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I. Abraham, Esq.	2	2	0	A. Van Noorden, Esq.	1	1	0
Henry A. Franklin, Esq.	2	2	0	S. J. Phillips, Esq.	1	1	0
I. Oelsner, Esq.	2	2	0	The Rev. J. Polack, B.A.	1	1	0
J. Prag, Esq., J.P.	2	2	0	Mrs. Schubach	1	1	0
Mrs. Myer Salaman	2	2	0	Herman Tuck, Esq.	1	1	0
Leonard B. Franklin, Esq.	2	0	0	Abraham Woolf, Esq.	1	1	0
H. M. Beirnsstein, Esq.	1	1	0	The Rev. J. Abelson, B.A.	0	10	6
H. Vanden Bergh, Esq.	1	1	0	I. W. & S.	0	10	6
S. I. Cohen, Esq.	1	1	0	A. Kenner, Esq.	0	10	6
B. Goodman, Esq.	1	1	0	S. Mitchell, Esq.	0	10	6
In Memoriam, J. S.	1	1	0	Ellis Raphael, Esq.	0	10	6
Messrs. Alfred Isaacs & Sons	1	1	0	J. Rosenstein, Esq.	0	10	6
D. Isaacs, Esq.	1	1	0	H. Sprung, Esq.	0	10	6
G. A. Kino, Esq.	1	1	0	I. Weinberg, Esq.	0	10	6
The Rev. Walter Levin	1	1	0				
H. Lissner, Esq.	1	1	0				
M. I. Marsden, Esq.	1	1	0	Total	8	1	0

The following letter accompanied Mr. Adolph Tuck's donation of £1000:—

"29 PARK CRESCENT, PORTLAND PLACE,  
"LONDON, W., Nov. 27, 1906.

"DEAR MR. SOLOMON,—When the Jews' College Jubilee Endowment Fund was decided upon, I was painfully aware in my capacity of co-Treasurer with you of the urgent needs of the College, and offered to subscribe £1000 to the proposed fund. This offer was subject to the condition that £24,000 were collected, so that the amount of £25,000 required to ensure the minimum additional income absolutely necessary for the proper management of the Institution might be obtained. So far the total collection has fallen short of this sum by about £10,000, but confident that the worthiness of the cause will appeal sufficiently to some generous member or members of the community to induce them to complete the required amount, I have much pleasure in handing you enclosed cheque covering my promised donation.—Believe me, yours faithfully,

"(Signed) ADOLPH TUCK."

"JAMES H. SOLOMON, Esq."

## Form of Bequest

**I** give and bequeath unto  
Jews' College, situate  
at Queen Square House,  
Guilford Street, London, the  
sum of £  
(free of Legacy Duty) to be  
applied to the general pur-  
poses of the said College.  
And I direct that the receipt  
of the Treasurer or Treas-  
urers, for the time being, of  
the said College, shall be a  
sufficient discharge for the  
same.











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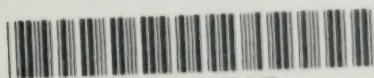
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